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Traditional Medieval Tracts
concerning engraved astrological Images

Extrait des *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer*

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Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning engraved astrological Images

by

Lynn THORNDIKE

Professor at Columbia University, New York

I. INTRODUCTION

In the chapter of the *Speculum astronomiae* which is numbered eleven in Borgnet's edition ¹ Albertus Magnus ² listed, with names of authors, titles, and in most cases incipits, various works, necromantic or astrological, dealing with images, rings and seals of the planets. These were ascribed to Hermes and Belenus, Toz Grecus, Solomon, Mahomet, Raziel, Aristotle, Thebit ben Corat, and Ptolemy. In the first two volumes of *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* I discussed these and similar treatises further and noted manuscripts of them ³. Since then I have come upon other manuscripts and examples of such works on operative

1. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Opera omnia*, ed. A. BORGNET, Paris, 1890-1899, 38 vol., X, 640b-643a. M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Zum Speculum astronomicum*, in *Zeitschr. für Mathematik und Physik* 16 (1871) p. 357-396, used a text which Jessen was then preparing but which seems not to have appeared. The references to Ms in Steinschneider's article were often based upon antiquated catalogues, and for the chapter on images with which we are here concerned he did little but repeat Albert's text.

2. The *Speculum astronomiae* is regularly attributed to Albert in the Ms, and there is no good reason for questioning his authorship of it. See my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 692-717.

3. In connection with Enoch, who vies with Hermes and Thebit for the authorship of one work, at I, p. 340; Thebit, I, p. 664-666; Belenus, II, p. 234-235; and in the chapters on Hermetic Books (II, p. 223-227), on the Pseudo-Aristotle (II, p. 257-258), on Solomon and the *Ars Notoria* (II, p. 280), and on Thomas of Cantimpré (II, p. 389-391, p. 399-400).

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engraved astronomical images, notably those attributed to Ptolemy⁴. I now propose to bring this information together, make some corrections, and attempt to unify and amplify it, giving more details concerning the manuscripts than before.

We are not now concerned either with what are primarily books of magic or with treatises which are exclusively astronomical and astrological, but with those that lie in a field between and that border on both, namely, works on engraved operative images related to the planets, signs or constellations. Also excluded here are tracts on the subject by known medieval Latin authors, such as the treatise on seals ascribed to Bernard Gordon, or their touching upon the topic in their longer medical and astrological works, as so many of them do. Our concern is rather with the literature on the subject which was supposed to have come down from the distant past and to have been translated into Latin from Arabic or other languages, although by way of contrast we once or twice note the « additions of moderns » which are appended thereto in the same manuscripts. Nor as a rule do we include here such discussions or examples of astrological images as are found in the *Secretum secretorum* of the pseudo-Aristotle and in the works of Arabic astrologers which were translated into Latin. We confine attention here to works that deal primarily and almost exclusively with engraved images.

Two of the tracts in which we are interested have been recently printed, but from a limited number of manuscripts and without listing other codices, by L. Delatte in *Textes latins et vieux français relatifs aux Cyranides* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. XCIII), Liège and Paris, 1942, p. x, 354.

This paper is divided into numbered sections, and at its close will be found indices of manuscripts and of incipits, with reference in either case to the number or numbers of the section or sections in which they are to be found.

Since the text of Borgnet's edition of the works of Albertus Magnus is notoriously uncritical and inaccurate. I have checked, supplemented and corrected it in this particular case not only by Steinschneider's article but by reference to manuscripts of

4. Some of my notes on them were taken before 1921 but were mislaid and so not used for volumes I and II.

the *Speculum astronomiae*. These, however, offer further vagaries of their own. Indeed, a critical study of the various manuscripts of the work would seem an indispensable preliminary to a satisfactory edition of the text. A difficulty is that of twenty-five manuscripts listed in my second volume⁵ and fourteen more I now add in a note⁶ hardly one appears to be of the thirteenth century.

5. II, p. 714-717.

6. In the following list those which I have examined are starred.

**Berne Stadtbibl.* 483, 15th century, f. 132^r-138^v: « Liber de nominibus librorum astronomiae tam demonstrativorum quam iudicialium quem composuit fidelis frater Albertus Magnus ».

**Boston Medical Library* 22, late 14th century, paper, f. 1^r-7^r. I have a photo-static copy. This MS was obtained at Libri's sale. On the fly leaf, « Albertus Magnus, De duabus sapientiis et de recapitulatione omnium librorum astronomiae ». There are no numbered chapters and the division into paragraphs often does not correspond to that by Borgnet into chapters. The text of his tenth and eleventh chapters here occurs in a different order. At f. 3^v, after not quite finishing the first paragraph of Chapter ten, our codex jumps to the bibliography of neocromantic books of images in Chapter eleven and a little of the next paragraph, then on f. 4^r resumes and finishes the text of Chapter ten and the first part of Chapter eleven, and then adds the closing section of that chapter. At f. 7^r, after the text of the *Speculum astronomiae* ends, is a note or paragraph of comment in the same hand as the preceding text, which is now described as, « Speculum astrologie quod Albertus de ordine secundum predicatorum composuit ». It is perhaps on the strength of this statement that another but not much later hand has inserted in the top margin of f. 1^r before the text, « Speculum astrologie Alberti ordinis Predicatorum ».

Catania 85, 15th century, f. 175^v-184 : « Accusationem (!) quorundam librorum apud quos non est radix ... /... quia ambe ab eodem inveniuntur causate. Explicit libellus fratris Alberti Magni De summa librorum totius masse astronomie ».

Cues 209, 14th century, f. 106-113^v : « Incipit liber de numero librorum artis astronomie et de auctoribus eorum, et intitulatur iste liber Speculum Alberti. Occasione quorundam librorum... /... inveniuntur ab eodem causata. Explicit Speculum Alberti ».

Douai 427, 16th century, first item : *Alberti Magni ... Speculum in astrologia*. « Occasione quorundam librorum ... »

Erfurt Ampl. F. 178, mid 14th century, f. 84-87 : « Ad laudem et honorem summi et solius dei nostri et ad preces quorundam meorum sociorum ac etiam magistrorum opus incepti astrorum speculi ... /... situatio perpendiculi ad c datur ». These closing words do not sound like Albert's *Speculum*, and astronomical tables follow.

**Florence Laur. Plut.* 30, cod. 29, 13th century, f. 79^r-84^r (« secundus liber », f. 82^r) : *Divinationum divisio auctore anonymo* ; « Occasione quorundam librorum apud quos nec est radix scientie ... /... ab eodem creata ».

**Florence Laur. Ashburnham* 210 (formerly 142 ; numbered 136 in Ministero della pubblica istruzione, *Indici e cataloghi*, VIII, I *codici Ashburnhamiani della R. Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze*, vol. I, fasc. 3, p. 225-227), early 15th century, membrane, f. 178-183, terminating the Ms and written in a much

Also, while I have examined about half of these forty odd manuscripts, no one of them has impressed me as outstanding or especially promising. For our present limited purpose, however, the

firmer, neater and more legible hand than the rest of the Ms, and which I incline to call older, though the aforesaid catalogue calls it contemporary therewith. The text opens and closes: «Occasione quorundam librorum ... quia ambo inveniuntur ab eodem causata» (as in Borgnet). In the upper margin of f. 178r, «Speculum Alberti». At the close two lines, which seem to have constituted a colophon, being separated by a blank line from the closing words of the text, have since been erased. I give this fuller description in place of the brief notice in my II, p. 716.

Ghent 5 (151) 1479, A. D., f. 48-56: «Liber de nominibus librorum astronomie tam demonstrativorum quam iudicialium quem composuit Albertus Magnus ut sciatur qui libri sunt contra fidem et qui non». (Lettrine colorée représentant Albert-le-Grand écrivain). The miniature is not included in the volume, *Iconographie Albertina*, Freiburg-i-B., 1932.

London Brit. Mus. Harley 2378, f. 353: «Tractaculus de distinctione nonnullorum librorum astronomicorum etc. a nigromanticis».

Milan Ambros. T 65 inf., N° 3, 15th century: «Albertus Magnus (seu Philippus cancellarius Parisiensis), Speculum de secretis astronomie approbandis vel reprobandis».

* *Vat. Lat. 4275*, Gothic hand of later 14th or 15th century, f. 18-28: *Alberti Speculum de libris astronomie*, «Occasione quorundam ... Explicit libellus gloriosissimi viri domini Alberti quem edidit de libris astronomie». Immediately followed at f. 29r by «Questio utrum per interrogationes astronomicas secundum astronomie principia possint presciri futura», opening, «Quesitum fuit utrum ...», in which we are informed at f. 29r that Robertus de Bardis, «nuper cancellarius Parisiensis» (he was chancellor in 1336 and died at Paris in 1349) has held that astrological interrogations are of no efficacy, with which opinion our author disagrees and cites astrological authorities against Robert. At f. 35r is the tract of Nicolas Oresme against astrologers which opens, «Multi principes ...» (see my III, p. 400 *et seq.*). Many marginal corrections are made of the text of the *Speculum astronomie*, but they are more often wrong than right. I examined the MS in 1927 and now have a microfilm of f. 17v-35r.

* *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*, 14th-15th century, f. 75r-82v: «Incipit tractatus Alberti Magni de refutatione librorum nigromanticorum et approbatione librorum astronomicorum (!). Occasione quorundam librorum ... ab eisdem principiis inveniuntur causate. Explicit tractatus Alberti Magni de refutatione librorum astronomicorum. Sit laus deo». Examined in 1927 and 1935. Microfilm of f. 75r-82v.

* *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1445*, 15th century, irregular handwriting, f. 176r-187v: Incipit liber Alberti Magni de duabus sapientiis et de recapitulatione librorum astronomie. Occasione quorundam librorum apud quos non est radix ... Explicit liber Alberti Magni episcopi Ratispon. de duabus sapientiis aut de recapitulatione omnium librorum astronomie». Examined in 1936 by Dr. Pearl Kibre, then my research assistant. I now have it in microfilm. The text is divided into a *Prohemium* and numbered chapters roughly corresponding to those in Borgnet's edition except that his sixth chapter is not so distinguished, so that the chapter on images is here numbered ten instead of eleven, while the latter part of it, «Tertius modus ymaginum», is numbered eleven. Chapter XII be-

photostats or microfilms of several which I have been able to procure under existing unfavorable post-war conditions are perhaps sufficient.

2. ENOCH ON FIFTEEN STARS.

A work on fifteen stars (Ptolemy had described that many of first magnitude), fifteen herbs, fifteen stones and fifteen images engraved upon them was not listed by Albert but is so closely related to the subject of engraved astronomical images and to the authors whom he does mention that it is included here. As was intimated in the previous section, it is variously ascribed to Enoch, Hermes and Thebit, and in each case the versions of the text seem to differ as well as the name of the supposed author⁸.

gins as in Borgnet but includes also the first paragraph of this thirteenth chapter and so confines Chapter XIII to the subject of nativities, «Ad nativitates me transfero...». Chapter XVI includes both the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters in the edition of Borgnet. The order of the text in the two preceding Vatican Ms, while not divided into numbered chapters, is similar to that in this Ms.

7. Besides microfilms of the three Vatican Ms and a photostat of the *Boston Medical Library* MS mentioned in the preceding note, I have used a photostat of *Oxford Bodl. Digby 228*, 14th century, f. 76^{rb}-79^{vb} (60 lines per column), a MS already listed in my II, p. 715. Its text divides into unnumbered paragraphs somewhat different from Borgnet's chapters. The first two correspond to his *Proemium* and first chapter, but the opening sentence of the third is the last sentence in his first chapter, «Hec una magna sapientia quam dixi...». It does not mark the openings of this sixth and eighth chapters by paragraph indentation, while it divides his thirteenth chapter into two paragraphs, the second opening at the words, «Ad nativitates me transfero...».

8. DELATTE, *op. cit.*, regards the version ascribed to Hermes as a recension first made in Arabic by the astrologer Messalah or Messahala from a Greek original which is now lost. He appears to regard the versions attributed to Enoch and Thebit as identical, writing (p. 238):

«La traduction latine existait déjà quand un remanieur trouva expédient de disposer la matière du traité d'Hermès selon un plan nouveau. Il rassembla dans un même chapitre ce qui a trait au groupe formé par une étoile, une pierre, une plante, une image: il obtint ainsi une série de quinze chapitres. Au cours de cette opération, l'étendue de la matière fut une nouvelle fois réduite. Ce résumé fut attribué par certains à Énoch, ... par des autres à Thebit ben Corat, astrologue arabe du IX^e siècle. Ce remaniement paraît avoir été fait, non sur la recension arabe, mais sur la traduction latine».

But the text which he prints makes use only of Ms in which the work is ascribed to Enoch and takes no note of those in which it is attributed to Thebit.

I have not yet been able to see the following work to tell how closely related it may be to our three texts: Israel Heibnerus (Hibner) Sneburgensis, pro-

The version attributed to Enoch is readily recognizable from its incipit, « Enoch tamquam unus ex philosophis (or, prophetis)... » The first star to be considered is Aldebaran. In the Harley manuscript the account of it fills nearly a page, while the remaining stars are discussed two or three to a page: in Delatte's edition from the other three manuscripts the distribution of space is more nearly equal. The virtues of each stone and herb are usually given and a ring (*anulus*) after each herb. There follows a fuller description of the four manuscripts listed in my I, p. 340, n. 1. I am almost certain that there was another at Munich whose shelf-mark I failed to note.

London Brit. Mus. Harley 1612, membrane, quarto minori, item 14, f. 15, according to the Catalogue of 1808, II, p. 150 b, which further states that a leaf is missing and lists the next entry, item 15, as opening at f. 19. Incipit at f. 15^r: « Enoch tamquam unus ex philosophis super res quatuor (*quartum* in the Catalogue and my I, p. 340) librum edidit in quo voluit determinare ista quatuor: videlicet de XV stellis, de XV herbis, de XV lapidibus preciosis, et de XV figuris ipsis lapidibus sculpendis. Ideoque, quia non moritur quem vivificat scientia⁹, dixit Enoch quod 15 stelle sunt... » By the bottom of f. 17^{rb} the discussion of the fifteenth and last star is nearly finished, and the missing leaf referred to above probably followed with the end of our tract, since the text at the top of what is now f. 18^r does not seem to belong to our tract. Its *desinit*, « ... celum celorum in quo habitat rex angelorum. Explicit de sideribus », is not that of the Enoch treatise, which therefore does not extend up to f. 19, as the printed Catalogue of 1808 implies.

Erfurt Ampl. Q. 381, 14th century, parchment, f. 43^r-45^v: « Inac (!) tamquam unus ex prophetis super res quatuor.../... nominavimus herbas que concordant, et sic explicit parvus tractatus Enoch de 15 stellis, de 15 lapidibus, de 15 herbis. »

Paris Nat. Lat. 13014, 14th century, f. 174^v-176.

Wolffenbüttel 2725, 14th century, f. 83-94^v: « Liber Enoch de 15 stellis et 15 herbis et 15 lapidibus preciosis et de figuris ipsis

fessor of mathematics at Erfurt, *Mysterium sigillorum herbarum et lapidum*, Erfurt, 1651; English translation by B. Clayton, London, 1698. Both volumes are in the British Museum.

9. This clause is incorrectly attached by Delatte to the preceding sentence.

lapidibus sculpendis », opening, « Enoch tamquam unus ex prophetis super res quatuor librum edidit... »

Vienna Nat. Lat. 5216, 15th century, f. 63^r-66^v: opening, « Dixit Enoch quod 15 sunt stelle... » (for these words see Delatte, p. 277, line 6), appears to be a late compilation and combination from the versions ascribed to Enoch and Hermes, since it closes, « ...ex tractatu Heremeth et Enoch compilatum ».

3. THEBIT ON FIFTEEN STARS

The version ascribed to Thebit is easily distinguishable from its incipit, « Prima stella vocatur Algol... » and titulus, « Tractatus eximii philosophi Thebit de proprietatibus quarundam stellarum et convenientia earundem cum quibusdam lapidibus et herbis ». I have used two manuscripts which seem to have a text identical in almost every respect down to the added note of 1360 mentioned below:

Florence Laur. Plut. 89 sup. 38, 15th century, f. 1^r-3^v (formerly 11^r-13^v).

Paris Nat. Lat. 7337, 15th century, p. 129 *et seq.*

The account of the first star, Algol, which is the third star in the versions ascribed to Hermes and Enoch, may be translated as follows:

« The first star is called Algol and is in the 22nd degree and 7th minute of Taurus¹⁰. Its stone is adamant, its herb is arthemisia¹¹, and the virtue of its ring is that it confers animosity and audacity and victory over foes, and makes a man secure wherever he wants to go, and keeps his limbs uninjured. And if anyone tries to enchant the wearer of the said ring, the enchantment is turned against the one making the incantation ».

After the fifteenth star, Alchameth, which is tenth in the other two versions, has been similarly discussed, a brief astrological direction and a prayer are given to be used with the foregoing stones and rings.

In a final note the work is again ascribed to Thebit, and it is stated that the positions of these fifteen stars were verified

10. In the Hermes version, it is put in the 9th degree and 28 minutes of Aries in the Enoch text, in the 19th degree of Taurus: DELATTE, p. 250, 279.

11. Black hellebore in the other two versions.

and revised in 1360: « Finitur opusculum Thebit de proprietatibus quarundam stellarum. Et nota quod loca harum stellarum fuerunt verificata anno millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo, et ideo invenies sic in tractatu predicti philosophi propter lapsum temporis »¹².

What is probably this same version ascribed to Thebit occurs in a late copy: *London Brit. Mus. Sloane 3847*, 17th century, f. 84-100, where the Hermes version is followed by « Dictum Thebit de iisdem ». In two other *Sloane* manuscripts of the seventeenth century, 3846, f. 86^v-93; 3883, f. 87-93, the entry, « Thebit ben Corat de imaginibus », may refer either to this work on fifteen stars or to another work on images which Albert ascribed to Thebit and which we shall consider presently.

4. HERMES ON FIFTEEN STARS

The version ascribed to Hermes is arranged in four parts, taking up first the fifteen stars, then fifteen stones, fifteen herbs and fifteen images, and so often is entitled *Quadripartitus* or *De quatuor partibus*¹³. The incipit of the prologue is: « Inter multa alia bona quae antiqui patres sapientissimi narraverunt... ». Delatte used the first five manuscripts in the following list.

Oxford Bodl. Ashmole 341, 13th century, vellum, small quarto, f. 120^v-128, with the 15 characters on f. 127.

Oxford Bodl. Ashmole 1471, late 14th century, vellum folio f. 50^r-55^v (not 56, as in Delatte, p. 239).

London Brit. Mus. Royal 12. E. XXV, circa 1300 (Delatte, « du XIII^e siècle »), vellum, f. 160^v-164^r (Delatte gives another numbering, 166^v-170).

Berlin 963 lat. fol. 192 (Trier, S. Maximini), 15th century, f. 105^{ra}-106^{va}: « Incipit quadripartitus Hermetis. Dixit Hermes, Cum aspicerem Aldebaran vidi eum in 15 gradu Arietis.../...

12. It is tempting to associate this date with the observations which began at Barcelona on January 1, 1360 or the tables composed by Jacob Poel at Perpignan: see my *Introduction and Canon by Dalmatius to Tables of Barcelona for the years 1361-1433 A. D.*, in *Isis* 26 (1937) p. 310-320, and *Other Astronomical Tables Beginning in the Year 1361*, in *Isis* 34 (1942) p. 6-7.

13. In Delatte's edition the prologue begins at p. 241; the fifteen stars at p. 246; the stones at p. 258; the herbs at p. 266, while the fifteen images occupy pp. 272-275, with a facsimile at p. 289 of the fifteen characters from the *Royal Ms 12. E. XXV*.

Explicit liber quadripartitus Hermetis et hoc in tribus partibus quarta parte de characteribus pariter figuris pretermisita ne quid sub ignotis characteribus lateat quod sit contra fidei katolice honestatem. Forme tamen que sculpi debent in lapides predictos secundum doctrinam Hermetis in quarta parte quartade-partiti (*sic*) sui pretermisitis characteribus hee sunt... (15 figures follow). Et cum isto sufficit hic pro notitia quarte partis. » Delatte, p. 239, explains that the copyist has omitted the prologue (for the above incipit see Delatte, p. 246), cut down the fourth part, and made other omissions.

Paris Nat. Lat. 7440, 14th century, f. 13^v-16^v, double columns, omits the fourth part.

Oxford Corpus Christi 125, membrane, quarto minori, saec. xiv, xv et xiii, f. 70-75^v: has the usual incipit and at the end the comments of Messahala (see Delatte, p. 275, notes). The characters at f. 75^{r-v} are similar to those in Delatte's facsimile from the *Royal Ms* at p. 289 but more neatly drawn and the accompanying text more clearly written.

London Brit. Mus. Royal 12. C. XVIII, 14th century, vellum, f. 30^v-33^r: « Incipit liber Hermetis de 15 stellis tractans et 15 herbis et 15 lapidibus et 15 figuris. Inter multa alia bona que antiqui patres sapientissimi narraverunt.../... qui iratus videtur et hec figura ».

London Brit. Mus. Harley 80, 14th century, f. 81-84: begins and ends like *Royal 12. E. XXV*, i. e. includes the comments of Messahala at the end.

Basel F. IV. 18, 14th century, f. 31^{ra}-37^{ra}: has the usual incipit, and does not support Delatte's conjecture that something is omitted between « in eo continentur » and « dansque exemplum » (Delatte, p. 241, lines 9-10), but has the unusual ending, « ... 17^a (15^a ?) cauda Capricorni, 17^{us} calcedonius, 17^a maiorana. Explicit amen. » Possibly something has been added. I am indebted to Dr. Max Burckhardt of the Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel for very kindly answering my query concerning this manuscript.

Vat. Lat. 4082, 15th century, f. 219^{ra}-222^v: « Hermes de anulis seu de stellis lapidibus et herbis una cum signis seu characteribus ad anulos conficiendos. Has the usual incipit, with no words supplied between *continentur* and *dansque* ».

Vat. Lat. 5733, paper, large quarto, f. 187 *et seq.*: « Hermes

de quindecim stellis, de quindecim lapidibus, with usual incipit. »

I cannot now say what the incipits are in the next two manuscripts :

Vienna 5300, 14th-15th century, f. 37^{rb}-40^{va}.

London Brit. Mus. Sloane 3847, quarto, 17th century, f. 84-100 : « Liber Hermetis de 15 stellis et de 15 lapidibus et de 15 herbis et de 15 harum rerum figuris ; subiungitur dictum Thebit de iisdem ».

The next three manuscripts do not have the usual incipit :

Boston Medical Library 20, late 14th century, vellum, f. 135^{r-v} : « Prima stella temperatio (?) Hermetis.../... Explicit Hermes de 15 lapidibus et herbis secundum naturas 15 stellarum diffinitis et in diversis constellationibus cum suis caracteribus anulis imponendis ». Preceded at f. 134^v by a table of « Stelle, Complexiones, Lapidēs, Herbe », fifteen of each. This would seem to be an abbreviated version.

Paris Nat. Lat. 7443, 15th century, f. 113^r-115^v : *Hermes de quindecim stellis fixis*, opening and closing ; « Stelle fixe que sunt de natura Saturni et Martis nocent in aspectibus.../... tanto fortior in omni iudicio est et opere ».

The second paragraph opens, « Sed postquam de stellis fixis mentionem fecimus in generali, nunc de 15 stellis explanationem Hermetis Abidimen dicemus in speciali... » From this point on the text is that of Hermes' first part in the fifteen stars (Delatte, p. 245-258).

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1354, 15th century, f. 57^r-58^v, also omits the last three parts on stones, herbs and images. Its incipit, « Dixit Hermes, Beatus est qui cognoscit quod videt et quod audit intelligit... » is that of the second paragraph of Delatte's text (p. 242). The tract ends with the fifteenth star and is immediately followed by the *Images* attributed to Ptolemy.

Our last two manuscripts associate the name of Arnald of Villanova with that of Hermes :

Vat. Lat. 4087, f. 84 : *Hermes de stellis planetis (sic) et signis cum additionibus Arnaldi de Villanova*, « Incipit liber Hermetis... ».

Vat. Lat. 4082, 15th century, f. 213-214 : *Hermetis liber imaginum signorum cum additionibus Arnaldi de Villanova*, opening, « Inquit magister... ». This would seem to be a different tract from that on fifteen stars, which occurs a little later in the

same manuscript at f. 219, but the other works on images attributed to Hermes connect them with the planets rather than the signs, a topic covered by the treatise on images ascribed to Ptolemy ¹⁴.

5. HERMES, LIBER PRAESTIGIORUM.

The first work on images ascribed to Hermes in the *Speculum astronomiae* is a *Liber praestigiorum* with the incipit, « Qui geometrie aut philosophie peritus expers astronomie fuerit... ». Later in the same chapter Albert attributed to Thebit a work on astronomical images, opening, « Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam... ». Both incipits, when extended, express the same idea, that knowledge of geometry and philosophy is insufficient without astronomy.

And in at least one manuscript the *Liber praestigiorum* with the former incipit seems to be ascribed to Thebit rather than to Hermes :

Lyons 328 (261), 14th century (?), parchment, 205 × 139 mm., f. 70-74 :

Quicumque geometria et philosophia peritus astronomie expers fuerit otiosus est. Est enim astronomia omnium artium et re excellentissima et prestigiorum effectum[m] commodissima. Ego itaque in libris prestigiorum studui .../... Hec quidem omnia ceteraque circa principium enumerata in ysagogis exposita studiosa mente firmanda sunt, ut prestigiorum facultate artifex non decadat. Liber praestigiorum Elbidis secundum Ptolemeum et Armetem per Adhelardum Bathoniensem translatus explicit ¹⁵.

I therefore concluded in *A History of Magic and Experimental*

14. I do not include here a *Pronostica Democriti*, which relates twelve herbs to the twelve signs of the zodiac, since it seems not to involve images but merely tells when to pluck the herbs and how to employ them medicinally. I have not seen the work *in toto*, but the latter page of *Vat. Urb. Lat. 246*, 14th century, f. 190^{r-v} is reproduced in facsimile by G. CARBONELLI, *Sulle fonti storiche della chimica e dell' alchimia in Italia*, 1925, p. 56. A later Ms of it is *Munich Clm 16287*, 1525-1526 A. D., f. 72-91.

15. In this description of the text I follow HASKINS, *Studies in Medieval Science*, 1924, p. 30, and his rotograph of these pages rather than the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, vol. 30-31 on Lyons, where the foliation is given as 69-73, and the incipit as, « Doctrina stellarum ... ».

Science, I, p. 664, that the two incipits represented two different versions or translations — by Adelard of Bath and John of Seville — of one and the same work. But examination since of a manuscript containing both texts, *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1401*, has convinced me that they are not same treatise, even in a different order, and that Albert was right in distinguishing them, although both are concerned with engraved astronomical images and the working of magic thereby, and although in their particular aims the images of both are similar.

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1401, f. 39^v-41^v, small pages and minute writing which, like the Lyons Ms, is hard to decipher. No author or translator is named. The text opens: « Quicumque geometrie aut philosophie peritus astrorum expers fuerit otiosus est. Est ergo a scientia omni(um) artium habere(?) excellentissimum prestigiorum effectum commodissimum. Ego igitur in libris prestigiorum studui... ».

Gulielmus Pastregicus (or, Pastrengo), *De originibus rerum*, Venice, 1547, f. 36^r, gave « Qui geometrice... » as the incipit of Hermes Aegyptius, Platonis discipulus, *Liber de imaginibus qui prestigiorum dicitur*.

The author, after stressing the need of astronomical knowledge in order to work magic (*Praestigia*), says that he has found existing books of *praestigia* inefficacious. A little later, however, he cites approvingly the work of Ptolemy on images in each *facies* of the signs of the zodiac, and a work by some other author (name illegible) for each degree of the same¹⁶. One difficulty is caused by the theory of access and recession of the sphere of the fixed stars on a circle of eight degrees, according to which the images in the moving zodiac and eighth sphere keep varying from those in the fixed zodiac of the ninth sphere. This allusion to Thebit's theory of access and recess may account for the treatise being attributed to him. Another point frequently emphasized in it is the need of attention to the horoscope. An evil image should not be combined with a good horoscope. In images of love the horoscope should first be noted. In another case the horoscope of the seeker is remarked. The word is also used for the ascendent or rising sign or astrological house at the time of making the image¹⁷.

16. Such a work is described below in section 22 from Ms *Vat. Reg. 1283*.

17. *Lyons 328*, f. 71^r, « deinde anuli duorum, horoscopi et undecimi »; f. 72^r

Among the aims of the images are for a neglected wife to recover her husband's love, to obtain the favor of the king and security from his wrath, to recover stolen goods, to destroy a city or other place, to expel scorpions. Sometimes the person's name and surname are to be written; sometimes the image is to be worn over the heart. The images are also to be suffumigated. There seems to be little or nothing of a necromantic or diabolical character to justify Albert's condemnation of the treatise for this reason, but perhaps the text as we have it has been expurgated. The work closes with a statement of the virtues of the planets and which parts of the human body each planet controls.

6. THEBIT ON IMAGES.

This treatise exists in numerous manuscripts and was printed at Frankfurt, 1559, under the title, *De tribus imaginibus magicis*. More than three images are described, however, and the same general plan is followed in the printed text and such manuscripts as I have examined, although there are minor differences between the edition and the manuscripts, and between the manuscripts themselves. Perhaps more superstitious detail appears in the printed text than in the manuscripts which remain rather strictly and severely astrological. After emphasizing the importance of astronomy in general and of « the science of images » in particular, directions are given for the construction of one image after another in this order (the numbering is mine except as indicated in the footnotes):

- 1) to expel scorpions or other animals¹⁸
- 2) to destroy a city or region¹⁹

« cum autem praestigium abominationis et discidii intenditur, ponetur horoscopus »; f. 73^v, « Deinceps vero quibus in signis stelle gaudeant dicendum est. Gaudet autem Mercurius in horoscopo, luna in tertio, Venus in quinto, Mars in sexto, sol in nono, Iupiter in undecimo, Saturnus in xii ».

18. *Oxford Bodl. Ashmole 346* (henceforth cited as *BLA 346*), « Quando igitur opus est ut scorpiones fugas a loco ... »; *Oxford Bodl. Digby 194* (henceforth cited as *BLd 194*), « Ymago prima ad effugandos scorpiones »; *Paris Nat. Lat. 7337* (henceforth cited as *BN 7337*), I failed to note the precise wording.

19. *Bla 346*, « Cum volueris destruere vel civitatem aut regionem vel impedire eas »; *BLd 194*, « Secundum hoc exemplar facies cum volueris destructionem alicuius civitatis vel regionis »; *BN 7337*, « Ad destruendum regionem et omnem locum quem volueris ».

- 3) to render a place fortunate ²⁰
- 4) to recover stolen or contested property ²¹
- 5) to be set over a city or province ²²
- 6) to win royal favor ²³
- 7) of concord or separation ²⁴.

In each case detailed astronomical or astrological directions are given, for the « perfection of mastery » is careful conformity to prescribed constellations and astrological conditions. It is not essential to engrave the images on gems; other materials may be employed. At the close of the treatise instructions are given for casting an image in human form in a mould made of two stones ²⁵.

The first image against scorpions may serve as an example for the others. When the sign Scorpio is in the ascendent, an image of a scorpion is to be made of copper, tin or lead, silver or gold, and on it are to be engraved the name of the ascendent and its lord (i. e. ruling planet) and the lord of the day and hour when the image is made and the name of the moon. The moon should be in Scorpio, the ascendent in as unfortunate a position as possible, the lord of the ascendent in the house of death or in evil conjunction opposite. But the ceremonial to be followed is not purely astrological. The image of the scorpion is

20. *BLa 346*, « Cum volueris fortunare aliquem regionem vel locum vel civitatem »; *BLd 194*, « Alia ymago cum volueris aptare regionem aut civitatem »; *BN 7337*, « Ad actandam regionem vel alium locum ».

21. *BLa 346*, « Cum volueris facere ymaginem viro qui petit substantiam que fuerat furata ... »; *BLd 194*, « Incipit pars 2^a in substantia et eius dispositione. Cum volueris facere ymaginem viro petenti que furata vel vi fuerat ablata »; *BN 7337*, « Ut res furate vel ex vi ablate vel aliquo modo admote reddant ».

22. *BLa 346*, « Opus magnum (imaginum) ad eum qui vult preesse civitati »; *BLd 194*, « Incipit pars 3 in principatu et prelatione opus. Ymago eius qui voluerit preesse civitati vel alicui provincie »; *BN 7337*, « Si quis voluerit preesse civitati vel alicui provincie ... ».

23. *BLa 346*, « Imago ac inclinationem regis erga aliquem de suis viris »; *BLd 194*, « Imago ad inclinandum regem ad gratiam alicui suorum consiliariorum ut diligit ipsum ».

24. *BLa 346*, « Sequitur pars quarta in concordia vel separatione, que est ymago dilectionis et discordie »; *BLd 194*, « Quinta particula qua agamus de 4 in genere (?) separatione et dilectione »; *BN 7337*, « Ad coniunctionem et dilectionem ac separationem aliquorum ».

25. *BLa 346*, « De formis. Sic facies omnem ymaginem. Accipe duos lapides molles »; *BLd 194*, « De forma in qua fundes. Accipe duos lapides bene molles »; *BN 7337*, « Capitulum incipit de hoc in quo fundes ».

to be buried head down on the spot or in the house which is to be freed from scorpions. As it is buried, one should say, « This is the burial of it and of its species, that it may not come to that one and to that place ». If four such images are made and buried in the four corners of the place from which scorpions are to be expelled, it will be so much the better. An analogous procedure is advised to destroy a city or region, except that some earth from the four quarters of that place is to be placed in the image as it is buried ²⁶. But there is no mention of demons, angels, or strange names.

The variant wordings quoted from three manuscripts in the preceding notes, although in part a matter of rubrics, which may have been inserted to suit the fancy of each copyist or owner, rather than of the text itself, suggest that there was more than one translation of the treatise from the Arabic. In some manuscripts, before the usual incipit is reached, occurs an introductory paragraph in which someone tells how he became discouraged while studying astronomy in Spain by not finding what he sought, and how his master consoled him by the gift of this volume and by affirming the shallowness of many writers on the subject. After further remarks discounting religious opposition to the use of images, the preface ends extolling this book received by the aid of the spirit of God and which no Latin had before except an Anthocheus who possessed a part of it. This preface of the editor or translator, as given in the Milan manuscript, is roughly as follows:

Cum cernens planetarum cursus libris perlectis aliisque astronomicis que ad hanc artem pertinere videbantur nichil eorum quorum intentionem in Yspanas petieram partes adeptus fuisssem, tandem per aliquot dies affectus tacui et subiecta desperatione que inter huius scientie peritos iam sciolus habebam tamen frustra laboris incho(at)am sollicitudinem fere penitus abiecerim. Videbam namque me in hac arte diutissime ante elaborasse, propterea de propriis non pauci in ea cum nichil aliunde lugri (lucri ?) facerem expedissem presertim cum inter estereas (externas) ? constitutus gentes procul a fideis domesticis totius preter deum experts consilii degerem quod animi haberem non est minime materiam instrueto prudentiam. Hac igitur tanta me sollicitudine male pertractum magister intuens atque quid haberem

26. For employment of such images by Thomas of Bologna see my II, p. 802

sollicite querens audito mentis languore subrisisse visus est. Deinde librorum suorum volumina perquirens non magni corporis librum arabico sermone conscriptum ex aumario in quo libri eius non pauci continebantur protulit, de quo cum quod contineret attenta mente indesinenter percontaret, se in hec verba resolvit.

Ne credas, karissime, omnes qui in hanc scientiam student ad eius usque interna pertingere posse. Sunt enim nonnulli qui adeo planetarum cursus complexionisque eorum noverunt, preterea quoque signorum, demum forme totius celi machinam mente contemplant, ut nichil de hac arte sibi deesse putent. Sed, ut verum fateamur, tanto ab ea distant intervallo quanto qui numquam ex inperitia gustaverint qui(c)quam. Sapientes namque nostri, eius subtilius naturam considerantes et planetarum significationes nunc in bono nunc in malo esse videntes, ex sui capacitate ingenii immensitates (*sic*) quedam quasi argumenta atque exemplaria exercere et que totius huius artis fundamenta posuere componentes librum qui ymaginum esse dixerunt, in quo qualiter prodesse aut etiam obesse sibi aliove quis possit haberi in sequentibus declarabo.

Unde et quidam sub religionis obtentu hanc scientiam velud ignominiosam diiudicant, non attendentes deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre hanc potius servis suis ad aptationem terrarum suarum et ad vindictam male factorum, ad bonorum laudem, eum in suis mirabilem pre ceteris agnoscendum fuisse conatum. Sed forte michi quis illud obiciat argumentum affirmans non velle dei fore quod malum quispiam operetur. Ad quem ego. An nescis securis ad ligna incidendum facta numquid si quis cum ea homines mente perversa occideret, ob hanc causam usus securis quasi calupniatus reprobatus sive abiciendus est? Absit, non ita est unquam. Set quia adversariorum questionibus sufficienter responsum est, ad alia transeamus.

Hunc ergo librum ab ipso dei adiuvante spiritu habui quem nullus Latinorum preter quendam Anthocheum qui quamdam eius partem habuerit que antea adeptus fuerat. Si quis ergo fuerit huic dans operam, scire modis omnibus studeat hunc librum ymaginum, nam per eum, si ibi providus fuerit, ad totius huius doctrine summam proculdubio pertinet. Adhibe ergo animum, quisquis es, atque mente sollicita revolvens que in ipso legenda sunt et planetarum significationes tam in bono quam in malo considerate sopleter (*supplener* or *solempniter*?) sumuntur.

The picture given of the writer of this preface hardly fits John of Seville, who was of Spain to begin with, nor does the style

resemble that of John's other prefaces. Perhaps the preface of some other translator has become attached to John of Seville's text.

Yet another indication of more than one translation is had by comparing the wording of the introductory paragraphs of the text in a manuscript where John of Seville is named as the translator and in another where he is not.

Oxford Bodl. Digby 194, 15th century, paper, f. 145^v-147^v:

Dixit Thesbith Benchorah, Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam et geometriam omnemque legit scientiam et ab astronomia vacuus fuerit, erit occupatus et vacuus, quia dignior geometria et altior philosophia est ymaginum scientia.

Et iam dixit philosophus in 2^o tractatu sui libri quod sicut non est motus corpori anima carenti nec vita animato corpori nisi per cibum quo digerantur et adaptantur eius nature, ita non est lumen sapientie cum astronomia vacuatus fuerit. Et quemadmodum species subsistere non poterit nisi per cibum quo adaptantur nature corporis, ita non est radix scientie apud dominum qui philosophia caruerit nec est lumen geometrie cum vacua fuerit astronomia. Sublimitas autem et altitudo astronomie est ymaginum scientia.

Dixit Thesbith Benchorah, Cum volueris aliquid operari de operationibus scito quod tradiderunt nobis philosophi in suis repositis 7. o. ²⁷ que exercentur in omni re, in quo adquiritur utilitas et expellitur impedimentum. Et iam dedi tibi in libro meo quasdam res quas constitui in exemplaria earum .../... non cures qua hora incipies formam eorum. Intellige quod exposui tibi, si deus voluerit. Finit liber ymaginum Thesbith Bencorath translatus a Iohanne Hispalensi atque Luniensi in Lunia ex arabico in latinum. Sit laus deo maximo.

Oxford Bodl. Ashmole 346, about 1500, f. 113^r-115^v:

Incipit liber de ymaginibus secundum Thebit. In nomine pii et misericordis dei. Dixit Thebit, Qui geometrie aut philosophie expers fuerit et alienus fuerit ab astronomia, erit impeditus et occupatus, quia preciosior est astronomia et altior quam geometria et philosophia simpliciter, et preciosior et altior est geometria et philosophia que per ymagines fit que per astronomiam fiunt quam aliis.

Dixit philosophus Aristoteles in 3^o tractatu libri sui quod si-

27. Probably the abbreviation for imago; cf. *Vienna 2378*, « in suis expertis imaginibus ».

cut corpus non movetur quod caret anima, nec vita inest anime nisi per cibum quo digeruntur eius nature, similiter omnino scientie carent lumine cum fuerunt vacue astronomia. Et sicut vita non potest subsistere in anima nisi per cibum per quem digeruntur nature corporis, sic nulla radix sapientie erit apud eum qui caruerit astronomia, et est altior et preciosior ymaginum scientia.

Dixit Thebit, Cum volueris operari aliquid de ymaginibus, scito illud quod mandaverunt nobis philosophi in suis repositis. Species ymaginum sunt quibus utuntur omni modo in quo fuerit provocatio spiritus, profectus aut expulsio impedimenti. Et iam prenotavi in libro meo capitula posuique per similitudinem in omni modo ymaginum de quibus opus est.

... et intellige quod exposui tibi et sequere ordinem et invenies effectum sine dubio. Deo sit laus. Amen. Explicit liber ymaginum Thebit secundum astronomiam.

The remaining manuscripts may be listed in the alphabetical order of the cities where they are or were last found: For the Berlin and Erfurt manuscripts I have used the catalogues of V. Rose, *Verzeichniss f. latein. Handschriften d. königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, II, 1905, and W. Schum, *Beschriebendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, 1887.

Berlin 963, 15th century, contains the work twice. At f. 140^{rb}-141^{va}, in a slightly truncated version, opening at the second or third paragraph, «Dixit Thebit ben Corach, Cum volueris operari ...» and closing, «... ordinem invenies profectum non dubites. Adest finis». At f. 199-200^{ra}, the complete text: «Incipit liber Thebit ben Corach de ymaginibus astronomie. Dixit Thebit ben Corach, Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam et geometriam .../... effectum invenies, si deus voluerit. Perfectus est liber ymaginum Thebit ben Corach. Sit laus domino deo Ihesu Christo, Amen.»

Berlin 964, 15th century, f. 213^{ra}-215^{rb}: «Dixit Thesbith ben Corach, Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam .../... Perfectus est liber ymaginum Thebith Ben Corach translatus a Iohanne Yspalensi atque Ianninensi (Iunensi) de arabico in latinum».

Copenhagen Gl. kgl. S. 3499, 15th century, octavo, f. 86-92: «Dixit Thebit ben Chorach, Dixit Aristoteles .../... effectum ne dubites».

Erfurt Ampl. F. 380, 14th century, f. 139^v-141^v, with the

prologue quoted above from the Milan manuscript: «Cum ceteris astronomie libris perlectis veluti cursuum planetarum .../... (f. 140) quam in malo sollerter considerata est. In hoc finitur prologus et inc. lib. ym. a Thebit ben Corath a Iohanne Hispalensi atque Luniensi in Lunia ex arabico in latinum translatus. Dixit Thebit ben Corat, Aristotelis qui legerit philosophiam .../... quicquid vere finitur ex ymagine ut ligatio scorpionis. Expl. Theb. ben K. de ym. astronomicis».

Erfurt Ampl. F. 395, circa 1373, f. 124^r-126^r: «Dixit Thebit etc .../... scientia quam deus patefecit suis servis ad operationem ... secul., Amen».

Erfurt Ampl. Q. 174, early 14th century, f. 120^v-121^v, with variations from the two preceding Ms: incipit, «Cum licet secundum doctrinam ...»; later the usual, «Dixit Thebit .../... Expl. lib. Th. b. d. ymag. astron.»

Erfurt Ampl. Q. 189, 14th century, f. 68-70, without mention of Thebit or John of Seville: incipit, like *Oxford Bodl. Ashmole 346* above, «In nomine dei pii et misericordis, Dixit Aristoteles, Qui legerit pphilosoficam(!) .../... ad aptationem et proficium regionum, cui gloria in perpetuum et secula seculorum, Amen».

Florence Laur. Plut. 30, cod. 29, 13th century, about 7 × 6 inches in size, beautiful writing, though very small and abbreviated, f. 59^r-60^v: rubric, «Incipit liber imaginum Thesbith translatus a Iohanne Hispaniensi (sic) atque Luniensi in Lunia ex arabico in latinum»; incipit, «Dixit Thesbith ben Corah, Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam et geometriam ...»; desinit, «... qua hora incipies formam eorum. Intellige quod exposui tibi, si deus voluerit».

Florence Nat. II. iii. 214, 15th century, f. 1^r-4^v: rubris, «Incipit liber Thebit ben Choraz de scientia omigarum, id est, ymaginum; incipit, «Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam et geometriam ...» After the usual desinit on f. 4^r, the text continues, «Ne diversitas oppinionum de octava spera ymagines faciat inefficaces, fiant secundum utrasque, sed probam addendam esse per nativitatem pueri complexionalem». Then on f. 4^v comes a paragraph with the rubric, «Acceptio ascendentis».

Ghent 5 (151, Saint-Genois 416), anno 1479, f. 24-26^r: *Liber Thebith, filii Thore, de imaginibus*.

Klagenfurt Bischöfl. Bibl. XXXI. b. 7, 14th-15th century,

paper, f. 28^r-30^r: « Dixit Thebit ben Chorat, Cum volueris operari (cf. *Berlin* 963) .../... tamen inundas imagines, ut superius narratur. Explicit liber imaginum Thebit ».

London Brit. Mus. Harley 80, 14th century, poorly written, lacks the first part of the text but ends at f. 76 like the following MS.

London Brit. Mus. Royal 12. C. XVIII, 14th century, vellum, f. 10^v-12^v: « Dixit Thebyth ben Corat et dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam et geometriam .../... Explicit tractatus de imaginibus Thebith ben Corath translatus a Iohanne Hyspalensi atque Luniensi in Lunia ex arabico in latinum. Sit laus deo maximo ».

Milan Ambros. A. 183 *inf.*, 14th century, folio, vellum, ornate with colors and some illuminations, f. 73^v-76^{ra}. First comes the preface, reproduced above; then, f. 74^{ra}, « Dixit Thebit ben Corat quod Aristoteles ait. Qui philosophiam geometriam omnesque scientias .../... intellige exposita voluptate divina, Amen.

Explicit liber ymaginum a Tebit ben Corat ».

I list the next three Ms and the first from Paris tentatively:

Munich Clm 27, 15th century, f. 71-77.

Munich Clm 59, 15th century, f. 239-243.

Munich Clm 14684, 14th century, membrane, f. 79; Thebet ben Chorat de imaginibus, opening, « Aspectus autem planetarum sic potest inveniri ... »

Oxford Bodl. Bodley 463, 14th century, written in Spain, f. 75^v-77^r: « Dixit Thebit ben Corat, Ar. qui legit phylosophiam et geometriam .../... Explicit tractatus de imaginibus Thebith ben Corath ».

Paris Nat. Lat. 7282, 15th century, 4th item, « interprete Ioanne Hispalensi ».

Paris Nat. Lat. 7337, 15th century, paper, p. 27^b-32^a: « Incipit liber Thebith ben Coram de ymaginibus. Dixit Aristoteles, Qui phylosophiam et geometriam .../... et hoc est infallibile documentum. Explicit opus ymaginum Thebith ben Coram ».

Vat. Lat. 4085, 14th century, membrane, f. 101^r-103^r: « Opus Thebit de ymaginibus », opening with the first image, « Cum volueris fugare scorpiones ascendente Scorpione ... ». Desinit, « ... sed de effusione intellige quid exposui tibi et pervenies ad

effectum deo volente. Finis opus Thebit ». Then comes « Additamentum operi Thebit modernorum, » (see under Section 18, « Doctrina imaginum secundum modernos »). and, at the bottom of f. 104^r, Thomas of Bologna's experiment for expelling the English companies from the realm of France.

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1369, 15th century, f. 127^v-137^{ra}: « Thebit de ymaginibus. Dixit Thebit ben Choracht, Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam et geometriam ... ».

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1401, f. 103^v-106^r; « Dixit Thebit ben Corat, Qui legerit philosophiam et geometriam ... ». Usual explicit naming John of Seville as translator.

Vat. Reg. 1452, f. 16: *Thebit de imaginibus astronomie*, opening, « In nomine ... » like *Ashmole* 346 and *Ampl. Q.* 189.

Venice St. Mark's Fondo antico 343 (Valentinelli, XI, 102), 14th century, membrane, f. 150-153: « Dixit Thebit ben Chorah, Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam omnemque legerit scientiam .../... Finis liber imaginum Thebith ben Chorah translatus a Ioanne Hispalensi atque Luniensi in Lunia ex arabico in latinum ».

Vienna Nat. 2378, circa 1400, parchment, 284 × 195 mm., f. 41^r-43^{rb} (not 63^v as stated in the printed catalogue, *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in bibliotheca palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* II (1868), p. 65. Fuller and more accurate description in F. Saxl, *Verzeichnis astrol. u. mythol. illustrierter HSS ... der National-Bibliothek in Wien*, 1927, p. 162. But I mainly follow my own notes of August first, 1927. This part of the Ms is very legible. Rubric, « Incipit liber Thebith filii Chore de ymaginibus »; incipit, « Dixit Thebith ben Corath, Dixit Aristoteles, Qui philosophiam ac geometriam ... »; desinit, « ... non curabis qualis esset hora et si sequeris ordinem invenies effectum. Explicit liber ymaginum Thebith ben Chorach translatus a Iohanne Hyspalensi de arabico in latinum. Sit laus deo maximo ».

There is some danger of Thebit's treatise on the fifteen stars and even that on imagination of the sphere being confused with this work on images, as in the case of the following entry in one of the old catalogues in longhand at the Vatican: *Vat. Lat.* 3113, f. 10, *Thebiti de imaginibus*, incipit, « Hos iuxta nostra ... ». But this incipit is doubtless a misreading or a corruption of « Nos iuxta rectam (or, veram) imaginationem ... » which are the open-

ing words of the tract on the sphere. Therefore I have listed four of the above Ms only tentatively as the work on images.

7. HERMES, LIBER LUNE

The next work listed by Albertus Magnus is Hermes, *Liber lune*, opening, « Probavi omnes libros ... » These words are the incipit of an introduction which precedes the division of the text into chapters. In the following manuscripts the words, « Dixit Hermes, » are often prefixed to it, or other forms of incipit are given which belong either with a preface preceding the introduction or the first chapter following the introduction. Pastrengo (ed. 1547, f. 30^r), like *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1445*, f. 181^v, gives the variant wording, « Probavi tres libros ... ». Hermes is sometimes represented as the translator rather than the author of the work.

Copenhagen GL. kgl. S. 1658, 15th century, paper, quarto, f. 228-236 : « Liber imaginum qui dicitur liber lune. Incipit liber magnus et secretus translatus enim ab Heremete ... /... de omnibus planetis et singulis diebus. Et hec ad presens dicta sufficientiant ».

Copenhagen Gl. kgl. S. 3499, 15th century, octavo, f. 92^v-95^v : « Liber imaginum lune qui dicitur liber lune ... /... illa loca audisti. » I have a rotograph of it. The text is roughly like that in *Vienna 2378*, except that it adds a paragraph which opens, « Et nota quod Aristoteles (?) plenior artibus dicit selim, id est, luna clare videtur habere xxviii astra, id est, mansiones ... » (cf. Section 18).

Florence Nat. II, iii. 214, 15th century, f. 9^v-15^r : « Incipit liber ymaginum lune. Liber imaginum lune et iudiciorum eius in hoc mundo minori, et eius circulus est habitantium in terra... » ; f. 10^r, « Dixit Hermes, Probavi universos libros omnium planetarum sed non vidi veraciorem nec perfectiorem hac parte dignissima quam nominant sapientes librum lune, que est pars prima ... » ; rubric, « De virtutibus mansionum lune » ; incipit, « Dixit Balemus Apollo ... » ; f. 14^v, rubric, « Incipiunt quatuor universales ymagines » ; f. 15^r, « Explicit ».

London Brit. Mus. Harley 80, f. 77^v-80^v : « Liber ymaginum translatus ab Hermete, i. e., Mercurio ; qui latine Praestigium Mercurii appellatur, Heliemen in lingua arabica ; et dicitur Liber lune ».

Oxford Corpus Christi College 125 (not *Christchurch College 125*, as stated by Steinschneider (1871), p. 371), 14th century, membrane, quarto minori, f. 62^r-68^r : in top margin of f. 62^r, « Liber lunae », rubric, « Hic incipit liber ymaginum translatus ab Hermete, id est, Mercurio, qui latine Prestigium Mercurii appellatur, Helyanin in lingua arabica » ; prologue incipit, « Cum enim sapiens indagator veritatis et amicus nature multorum volumina relegisset sapientum ... » ; text incipit, « Dixit Hermes, Probavi omnes libros septem planetarum et non inveni veraciorem neque perfectiorem etiam parte hac preciosissima ... » ; cap. 1 incipit, « Dixit Balenuch (or, Balemich) supremus (?) et peritissimus philosophus secundum magistrum suum Hermetem de 28 mansionibus lune ... » ; f. 68^r, « Dixit Hermes per Balemuth ... » ; « Nomina angelorum... » ; « ... Explicit liber lune de 28 mansionibus lune translatus ab Hermete ».

Oxford Bodl. Digby 228, 14th century, membrane, folio, f. 54^v-55^v : « In nomine pii et comisericordis soli (?) deo honor ... /... in cuius facta fuerit sepeliatur et non ledet medium ». This is a portion of the work, beginning in the middle of the preface and leaving off in the midst of the fourth chapter (corresponding to f. 64^v in *Oxford Corpus Christi 125*).

Vienna 2378, circa 1400, f. 43^{rb}-44^{rb} : « Incipit liber ymaginum lune. Liber ymaginum lune qui dicitur liber lune, cuius circulus est habitatoribus terre eiusque iudicia exercentur in hoc mundo minori. Et est liber notus in quo sunt secreta sapientum antiquorum que occultabant ab omnibus hominibus... »

« Dixit Hermes, Probavi omnes libros philosophorum omnium et non vidi veraciorem et perfectiorem hoc brevissimo libro. Nominaverunt autem eum sapientes librum lune ... »

« Dixit Balenus, Cum fuerit luna in Alnacti (Alnath ?), id est, in prima mansionem que est facies Arietis ... /... (ends with the 28th mansion of the moon) fac ymaginem omnis quos ducit ad profectum » (in *Copenhagen S. 3499*, « ... omnis rei que ducit ad perfectionem »).

The prologue or preface recounts how the work was found in a golden ark within a silver chest which in turn was enclosed by a leaden receptacle, and was translated into Arabic for the benefit of the many persons acquainted with that language. As the moon is nearer to us and affects us more than the other planets do, so this book, if comprehended, is more effective than others

and closer to us. In making these images one should repeat the names of the angels seven times and observe the proper hour and suffumigate seven times in the name of the Lord, merciful and pious, to whom alone honor and glory! The images are to be engraved as the moon is in each of its twenty-eight mansions.

Coming to Albert's incipit, we find Hermes saying that he has proved all the books of the seven planets and found none truer or more precious than this first one on the moon. In contradistinction to the aforesaid publication of the work to the Arabic reading world, he solemnly warns not to show it to anyone who may work evil with it, and not to allow any polluted person to touch it.

The first chapter is then devoted to the mansions of the moon, listed by their Arabic names, of which the first is suited to images of separation and discord, the second to images of conjunction and delight, and so on. Some of our Ms end with this chapter.

The second chapter specifies the spices with which the images are to be suffumigated and also lists outlandish names of 54 angels which are to be employed. This chapter in the Corpus Ms (f. 63^v) corresponds to two rubrics in the Florence Ms (f. 10^v, « De nominibus specierum quibus sit suffumigatio ymaginum »; f. 11^r, « De nominibus angelorum servientium ymaginibus »). The Florence Ms says nothing of a wood from an island of India which is prescribed for suffumigations in the Corpus Ms.

The third chapter gives further foreign names for the twelve hours of the day and the twelve hours of night, and states who prays or does this and that in each, and consequently what images are appropriate for each hour²⁸. Images for various hours also occur later on.

If the fourth chapter is the last (*Corpus* Ms, f. 64^v, « Capitulum quartum de ymaginibus faciendis »), it is longer than all the preceding text, but there are some subsequent rubrics: f. 65^r, « Capitulum aliud nobile et notabile »; f. 65^v, « Capitulum de nominibus sculpendis »; f. 67^v, « Capitulum de ymaginibus »; Four images follow which correspond to the « quatuor universales imagines » of the Florence Ms.

²⁸. The rubrics in the Florence Ms which correspond to this third chapter are: f. 11^r, « De nominibus horarum diei ac noctis »; f. 11^v, « De nominibus horarum noctis »; f. 12^r, « De ymaginibus secundum horas diei »; f. 13^v, « De ymaginibus in horis noctis ».

As these captions suggest, the remaining text is little more than a miscellaneous jumble of images, some of which bear a marked resemblance to those in Thebit's treatise.

8. ANOTHER LIBER LUNE

In one manuscript another *Liber lune* follows that just described.

Florence Nat. II, iii, 214, 15th century, f. 15^r-20^r: rubric, « Liber planetarum ex scientia Abel iusti filii Ade primi patris scientiarum est septem librorum secundum septem planetas, quorum primus est liber lune »; incipit, « Septem sunt planetarum circuli quorum primus et superior Saturno attribuitur ... »; desinit, « ... Completus est liber lune; laudetur deus et benedicatur ut concedit nobis scientie operari in ipso et per ipsum ».

In the introduction Hermes triplex tells us that the antediluvian philosophers, foreseeing the flood, engraved their science upon marble for the benefit of future generations. He has found such remains in Hebron, and of them all none is better than that of Abel on the seven planets, for Abel was the first inventor of magic (*praestigiorum*). Some other philosophers since the flood have disclosed this science to a certain extent, but Hermes now reveals it *in toto*. Next is explained why the moon comes first and the sun second in the order of books on the planets. There follow instructions as to twelve days of rites connected with the signs of the zodiac, including bathing, fasting, suffumigation and prayers directed to the twelve angels of the signs. Then come instructions as to the images which are to be made but not cast of gold, silver, tin and lead, with names written on them in red.

After the introduction twenty-one chapters begin with the names of the twelve signs and continue with such aims as deprivation of speech or relief from disease, petition from kings, expulsion of kings, rainmaking and « derision of man or woman ». Last is a paragraph headed, « End of the work concerning the names of God attributed to the signs ».

Of yet another book on images ascribed to Abel we shall have occasion to speak later.

9. BELENUS

In the *Speculum astronomiae* Albert said that to the *Liber lune* was annexed a book of Belenus²⁹, *De horarum opere*, opening, «Dixit Belenus qui et Apollo dicitur, Imago prima ...» and a second book by Belenus, *De quatuor*³⁰ *imaginibus ab aliis separat*, opening, «Differentia³¹ in qua fiunt³² imagines magnae ...». We have seen that four such images were appended to the *Liber lune* of Hermes in some of the manuscripts, and that much of the preceding fourth and third chapters dealt with the hours of day and night. Belenus is often mentioned or cited in the *Liber lune*, but the opening words of chapters 3 and 4, «Dixit Basormis de hiis que necesse sunt hore diei et hore noctis ...» (Corpus Ms, f. 63^v), and «Dixit Halemit, Ymago sit in prima hora diei...» (*ibid.*, f. 64^v) do not agree at all closely with the wording of Albert's incipit. The opening words of the first chapter in the Florence manuscript, «Dixit Balemus Appollo ...» come closer, but this first chapter is concerned with the mansions of the moon and not with «the work of Hours». At any rate, in the following Ms such treatises by Belenus occur separately:

London Brit. Mus. Royal 12. C. XVIII, 14th century, vellum, f. 12-15^r: «Dixit Balemiz qui Apollo dicitur, Ymago prima fit in prima hora .../... nomen diei Saturni hadah. Explicit».

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1116, 15th century, f. 115^{va}, rubric, «De 24 horis compositi a Baleno et primo de 12 horis diei,» incipit, «Hec sunt nomina 12 horarum diei ...»; another rubric, «Hore noctis»; f. 115^{vb}, rubric, «De aliis horis diei xii practica,» incipit, «Dixit Balenus, Fit in prima hora diei ad ligandas omnes linguas ut non loquantur ...» which suggests the first image of the fourth chapter of the *Liber lune* of Hermes; f. 116^{rb}, rubric, «Hore noctis, Pars 2a de imaginibus que sunt in nocte et horis eius. Prima ymago,» incipit, «Dixit Balenus cum interrogaretur a quibusdam ut ostenderet ... ignem in operationem balneorum ...»; f. 116^{rb}, «ymago secunda in prohibitione fornicationis. Dixit Balenus, In-

29. The name is misspelled in all sorts of ways in the Ms.

30. *Decem* in Steinschneider.

31. *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340* omits «Differentia in qua»; *Vat. Lat. 4275* has «Tertia differentia in qua ...».

32. *Boston Medical 22*, «fuerunt».

gressus sum civitatem ...»³³; f. 116^{vb}, «Finiunt ymagines horarum noctis atque diei quibus succedunt quatuor ymagines magnae ...»; f. 117^{ra-vb}, rubric, «De discretione operis differentia ex iudiciis Hermetis de intentione huius operis introduxitque ab eo Balenus», incipit «Dixit compositor huius libri, Oportet querentem hanc supremam scientiam de imaginibus ...».

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1375, 15th century, f. 270^{r-v}: «Incipit liber Belemich de ymaginibus septem planetarum. Dixit Belemich qui vocatus est Apollo .../... Explicit liber Belemich. Incipit Hermes de ymaginibus sive annulis septem planetarum».

Works on images and seals are also ascribed to Beleemus and Balaminus in two 17th century Ms: *London Brit. Mus. Sloane 3826*, f. 100^v-101; *Sloane 3848*, f. 52-58, *de sigillis planetarum*; f. 59-62, *de ymaginibus septem planetarum*.

Belinus (Arabic, Balinas) was identified by Steinschneider and Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, 1893, I, p. 257-258, with Apollonius of Tyana, but the British Museum catalogue of the Royal Ms states that *London Brit. Mus. Royal 12. C. XVIII*, f. 12-15^r, is «apparently by Jirgis ibn al-'Amid».

Flaccus Africus or Africanus, who wrote a treatise on seven herbs related to the seven planets, is often called a disciple of Belenus in the manuscripts³⁴. The alchemical *Turba philosophorum* (XXX, 17; XLIX, 36; or consult the passages listed under «Belinus», «Bellus» and «Belus» in the *Namenregister* of J. Ruska, *Turba Philosophorum*, 1931) cites a Belus or Belinus. Belenus also is cited more than once in the magical *Liber Anguemis* or *Liber vaccae* of pseudo-Plato³⁵.

33. Two images for the same purposes occur in the Corpus Ms at f. 66^v, but the incipits differ.

34. *London Brit. Mus. Sloane 75*, 15th century, f. 131-132, «Inquit Flaccus Africanus discipulus Beleni, Septem sunt herbe ...»; *Sloane 1754*, 14th century, f. 45^r-47^v (old numbering, 37-39^v), «Incipit liber tertius de septem herbis septem planetis attributis Flacii Affrici discipuli Belenis»; *Sloane 3092*, 14th century, 2^r-6^v, «Flacii Affricani discipuli Ballenis ...»; *Sloane 73*, f. 4^r-7^v, «Alexandrinus Aufricus ye disciple of Berllers ...»; *Wolfenbüttel 3914*, 1439 A. D., f. 8^r-10^v, «Fracii Affrici discipuli Bulbonis Albunizar liber quartus de septem herbis septem planetis attributis ...».

35. *Florence Nat. II iii 214*, f. 56^v, «Et dixit Belbemis», f. 57^r, «Et dixit Belbenis»; *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1892*, f. 106^r, «Et dixit Belenius ...» «Et dixit Belle-nis».

10. HERMES ON IMAGES OF MERCURY AND VENUS

Returning to works ascribed to Hermes, we note that, after *Liber Lune*, Albert mentioned a *Liber imaginum Mercurii*, comprising four books on images, characters, rings and seals, but could recall the opening words only of that on seals, «Dixit expositor huius libri, Oportet querentem hanc artem ...»³⁶. Except for a slight and negligible variation in wording this is the same incipit as that noted above in *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1116* «from the Judgments of Hermes», which is the only manuscript mention of which I know outside the *Speculum astronomiae*. Pastrengo gives the incipit again in the edition of 1547 but probably took it from the *Speculum*.

There is, however, a *Liber Mercurii* with a different incipit in the following Ms: *Florence Nat. II. iii. 214*, f. 24^v, rubric, «Incipit liber Mercurii», incipit, «Hic est liber Mercurii Hermetis qui est velox currendo in spera celi ...»; f. 25^r, «Anulus primus valet ad omnem scientiam ...»; f. 25^v, «Iterum alius anulus Mercurii»; f. 26^r, «Explicit liber Hermetis». Then follows a ring of Saturn and, at f. 26^v, a ring of Venus. This is presumably the third book on rings, for which Albert did not give an incipit. Rings of Mercury are also found in Spanish: *Vat. Reg. 1283*, 14th-15th century, f. 34^v-36^v, preceded by images of Mercury in the twelve signs at fols. 31-34^r.

Of a Hermetic *Liber Veneris*, which likewise comprised books or tractates on images, characters, rings and seals, Albert remembered only the incipit of the section on rings, *De annulis*, which opened, «Mentio decem capitulorum atque annulorum Veneris ...». I know of no extant manuscript of this.

11. HERMES, LIBER SOLIS

We are more fortunate in the case of *Liber solis*, for the tractate of which that was concerned with characters Albert gave the incipit, «Lustravi plures imaginum scientias ...». This occurs, preceded, it is true, by other introductory words, in several Ms.

36. So in *Vat. Lat. 4275* and *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*; *scientiam* in Borgnet, *Oxford Bodl. Digby 228*, and *Boston Medical 22*.

Florence Nat. II. iii. 214, 15th century, f. 8^v-9^v: rubric, inserted by an inferior hand, «Incipit libellus de utilitate et virtute dierum»; incipit, «Dixit Hermes, huius libri editor, Lustravi plures ymaginum scientias et non inveni certiore ...»; after a paragraph on the virtue of each day of the week comes an «Ymago solis et eius karacteribus» (also for the other six planets); «... Finit liber laus deo».

At f. 20^v of the same Ms occurs another *Liber solis*: rubric, «Incipit liber solis rubrica»; incipit, «In ordine septem librorum planetarum liber solis secundus est, ut in libro lune diximus ...». At f. 21^r is given the following list of images:

1. De generali vel speciali infirmitate
2. De generali ligatione animalium
3. De captura civitatis
4. De mutatione coloris solis
5. De sanitate vel infirmitate
6. De ablatione scientie
7. De locutione actionis ad quemlibet lectorem
8. De amoris provocatione
9. De diminutione substantie
10. De augmento scientie
11. De regis amore et aliorum
12. De generali revocatione.

The first image begins, «Cum infirmitas generalis aut specialis intenditur ...». The second and third images occupy f. 21^v, but on f. 22^r the program outlined above is abandoned, and the text begins anew with images of Saturn, apparently omitting the other planets. At f. 23^v the work ends:

... ea que diximus reiterentur ordine. Perfectus est liber quem invenit Hermes post diluvium in marmoribus, quem Abel iustus Ade filius optimus philosophus in eis cellaverat timens destructionem librorum propter diluvium futurum quod provideat. Gratie sint deo omnipotenti creatori primò. Hic est finis vii librorum secundum vii planetas ex doctrina Abel iusti filii Ade qui fuit primus pater scientiarum sculptarum in lapidibus ex timore futuri diluvii, quos postea invenit Hermes. Deo gratias.

Klagenfurt Bischöfl. Bibl. XXXI. b. 7, 14th-15th century, paper, f. 44^v-49^v: «Incipit liber imaginum constitutus super dies septimane et primo de imagine solis.../... Boreas eo anno mul-

tum nocebit... ». The catalogue notice is insufficient to tell whether the text goes on to mention Hermes and give the incipit, « Lustravi plures... », but the fact that the text is concerned with days of the week and an image of the sun suggests that it at least bears some relation to the work ascribed to Hermes.

Oxford Bodl. Bodley 463, 14th century, f. 77^v: « Dixit Hermes editor huius libri, Lustranti (sic) plures ... ». At the bottom of the page the text breaks off in the midst of the paragraph on « Dies Martis », the next leaf being now missing.

Vat. Lat. 4085, f. 95^r. Here the words, « Dixit Hermes huius rei primus inventor, Lustravi plures imagines ... », occur in the sixth line of the work on images ascribed to Ptolemy (see Section 19 below).

Wiesbaden 79, 16th century, f. 51^v-53^r: « Dixit editor huius libri, Lustravi plures ymaginum scientias et non inveni .../... et quicquid queras sine dubio optinebis. Finit hic tractatus Hermetis. Explicit liber occultus Bele ». (Beleni ?)

12. OTHER WORKS BY HERMES.

Of works by Hermes on the three superior planets Albert once again knew only single tracts, for which he gave the incipits: « Hic est liber Martis quem tractat ... »; « Hic est liber Iovis quem tractat ... »³⁷; and « Hic est liber Saturni quem tractat Hermas triplex ... ».

I know of no manuscript text with any of these incipits, but in the previous section we mentioned images of Saturn in the following manuscript, from which we may add a further entry:

Florence Nat. II. iii. 214, 15th century, f. 33^r: « In nomine dei coniuratio est Betronos quod et est Saturnus, translatus de arabico in latinum a Theodosio archiepiscopo Sardinensi. Hic est liber planetarum inventus in libris Hermetis, transtulit eum Appolonius philosophus Egypti. Hic est Saturnus planetarum

37. This second incipit is omitted in Borgnet's text of the *Speculum astronomiae* and by Pastrengo, who repeats the previous incipit for Mars twice, but is given by Steinschneider (1871), p. 372; by Digby 228, f. 78^{ra}; and by *Boston Medical 22*, f. 3^v. In *Vat. 4275* the books of Jupiter and Saturn are mentioned only in marginal notes in a later hand, but in both *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340* and *1445*, they appear in the text.

primus cuius sigillum qui vult operari ut dominus operetur facit apparere magnas miras regum ... ». Many rings (*anuli*) follow, apparently ten for Saturn and five for Jupiter.

« Hic est liber Saturni ... » is also the incipit of an alchemical tract³⁸ which does not concern us here.

Albert further listed an eighth treatise on images by Hermes, *Tractatus octavus in magisterio imaginum*, which presumably dealt with images of the eighth sphere and fixed stars, but gave no incipit for it. Possibly he had in mind the work on fifteen fixed stars of which we have already treated (Section 4).

Albert also noted a book on the seven rings of the seven planets, *De septem annulis septem planetarum*, which opened, « Divisio lune quando impleta³⁹ fuerit⁴⁰ ... ». A similar title occurs in the following manuscript, but the incipit is different and introduces only a few lines of text:

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1375, 15th century, f. 270^v: titulus, « Incipit Hermes de ymaginibus sive annulis septem planetarum »; incipit, « Solis ymago est homo ... ».

In a passage not found in Borgnet but which appears in the manuscripts, was used by Pastrengo, and is alluded to by Steinschneider, Albert says that there are two other books by Hermes which he does not regard as nigromantic but rather as natural. The first is about certain medicines in the conjunctions of the planets, *De quibusdam medicinis in⁴¹ coniunctionibus planetarum*, and opens, « Quando Saturnus iungitur Iovi ... »⁴². The second treatise is about four confections to capture wild animals (« Alius est de⁴³ 4⁴⁴ confectionibus ad capienda animalia silvatica

38. See *Palermo 4 Qq. A. 10, 46*, item 55, and two Ms listed by Mrs. D. W. SINGER, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland*, 1928, I, p. 74-75, entry n° 79.

39. Instead of *impleta*, *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1445* has *sempierna*; *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*, *sive anpleta*.

40. In *Boston Medical 22*, f. 3^v, this treatise and incipit are omitted. Instead we read: « ... et est unus liber de duobus annulis duorum planetarum qui sic incipit, « Incipit commemoratio ystoriarum... ». But these are the opening words of one of the tracts attributed to Toz Grecus, also omitted in this Ms.

41. *et* in Pastrengo.

42. Borgnet, who omits the title entirely, misplaces the incipit as that of Razi, *Liber institutionum*. A treatise opening, « Quando Saturnus est in signo igneo ... » was one of those in the library of Symon de Phares which the Sorbonne condemned in 1494.

43. *Boston Medical 22* adds « coniunctionibus 4, vel confectionibus ».

44. *Decem* in Steinschneider and *Vat. Lat. 4275*.

et ⁴⁵ lupos et aves») and it is the book of Hermes to Aristotle which opens, «Dixit Aristoteles, Vidistine ⁴⁶, O Hermes ...». Of this second treatise a manuscript seems to be extant:

Montpellier 277, 15th century, f. 64-65: «Liber secundum Hermetem de quatuor confectionibus ad omnia genera animalium capienda. Dixit Aristoas (*sic*) Vidistine Hermetem (*sic*) ...».

13. TOZ GRECUS.

Albert listed three works by Toz Grecus: *De stationibus ad cultum Veneris*, opening, «Commemoratio historiarum ...»; *De quatuor speculis Veneris* (or *eiusdem*), opening, «Observe Venerem cum pervenerit (or, venerit) ad Pleiades ...»; and *De imaginibus Veneris*, opening, «Observabis ⁴⁷ Venerem cum intrabit Taurum ...» ⁴⁸.

With regard to these and to Toz Grecus I have little to add to what was said in my second volume (p. 225-228), except that these titles were repeated by Thadeus of Parma at the beginning of the fourteenth century and by Pastrengo; that «Iorma Babilonicus» and «Tuz Ionicus», cited in the twelfth century *De essentiis* of Hermann of Dalmatia ⁴⁹ are apparently perversions of Germa of Babylon and Toz Grecus: and that Symon de Phares represented «Toz Grecus» as a disciple of Solomon and as a friend of «Alba Silvius, roy de Latins ⁵⁰».

I may, however, amplify the descriptions given of two manuscripts at my II, p. 225, note 2, as follows:

Oxford Bodl. Bodley 463, 14th century, f. 78^{r-v} (a previous leaf which contained the beginning of the text is now missing): cap. 1 ends, «... et scribas nomen tuum in folio salvie in hora Veneris, erit fortior ad hoc,» and cap. 2 begins. Cap. 5 treats of the beryl; cap. 7, of the magnet. Some stones have foreign names or are merely called «stone of Venus», or «stone of the sun», or are otherwise vaguely designated. After the ninth and

45. *Vat. Lat. 4275*, f. 24^v, omits *et*, Steinschneider substitutes *ut*.

46. *Boston Medical 22*, «Incitasti me; Steinschneider, «Vidisti me».

47. *Observe* in Steinschneider and *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1445*.

48. *Digby 228*, «intraverit in Tauro».

49. See HASKINS, *Studies in Medieval Science*, 1924, p. 66.

50. *Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues* ed. E. WICKERSHEIMER, Paris, 1929, p. 56.

last chapter, which treats of two stones, the work closes, «Expletum est liber Toc, deo gratias, Amen, et est liber x lapidum Veneris».

London Brit. Mus. Sloane 3883, a 17th century copy which preserves the first part, missing in the other Ms, f. 96^r-99: rubric, «Incipit liber Toc et vocatur liber veneni» (the use of this word is explicable from the fact that some of the stones are used to compound fatal poisons) «et liber de lapidibus Veneris»; incipit, «Dixit Toc grecus, Observa Venerem cum pervenerit ad Pleiades et coniuncta fuerit ...». Cap. 1 begins on f. 96^r, «Dixit Toz grecus, Probavi omnia huius operis capitula ...» and ends as in the other Ms.

Another manuscript of the commentary by Toz Grecus on the *Secreta secretorum* of Solomon may be mentioned:

Marseilles 983 (Bb. 108), 17th century, p. 6-76: «Clavis nostrae initium est timere deum et ipsum .../... et in eo est initium et finis. Explicat Secreta secretorum Claviculae Salomonis super expositione Toz Graeci, philosophi nominatissimi». This text is preceded at p. 1 by what seems to be a prologue opening, «Secreta secretorum omnium artium ... Salomonis filii Davidis, Israelitarum regis, Magna clavicula data filio Roboan in Ebraico originali, traducta Cahatha Levi Aegyptiace, traductione Latina a Messerio, patre heremita in montibus Olivarum, anno millesimo quadragesimo».

Other manuscripts of the *Clavicula* of Solomon than those mentioned in my II, p. 281, note 1, are:

Besançon 285, late 15th century

Bologna Com. A. 646, 17th century, translation from Hebrew into Latin «a Abrahamo Colono nutu serenissimi Mantuae»

Karlsruhe 302 and 303, 18th century, Italian and Latin

Pisa S. Cath. 167, 16th century

Florence Laur. Plut. 89 sup. 38, 15th century, f. 200, «Dixit Thezelius, Hic incipio dicere de angelis quatuor partium mundi ...». At f. 227, «Magisterium eumaticae artis sive scientie magicalis», opening, «Dixit Salomon sapientissimus in omnibus scientiis quod spiritus et angeli sunt a deo ...». Presently it cites, «Tox Grecus in libro officiorum».

A printed edition is: *The Key of Solomon the king* (*Clavicula Salomonis*), translated and edited from ancient Ms in the British Museum, K. Paul, London, 1909.

14. WORKS ON IMAGES ASCRIBED TO SOLOMON.

a) *De quatuor annulis*

Of works on images ascribed to Solomon Albert first mentioned *De quatuor annulis*, with the names of four⁵¹ of his disciples in its titulus and with the incipit, « De arte eutonica et ideica⁵² ». Manuscripts of it are:

Florence Laur. Plut. 89 sup. 38, late 15th century, f. 186 *et seq.*: De quatuor annulis, « Artifex vero, sicut predictum est, sit mundus .../... debitum suum consequentur effectum. Per dominum etc. ». This text is anonymous, but at f. 108 is the title, *Vinculum Salomonis*; at f. 200, *Clavicula Salomonis*; at f. 227, the *Magisterium Eumaticae artis* opens, « Dixit Salomon ... », as noted in Section 13.

Florence Nat. II. iii. 214, 15th century, f. 26^v-29^v: rubric, « Incipit tractatus discipulorum Salomonis scilicet Fortunati Eleazari Macari et Toz Greci, et super eutuntam et super ydeam Salomonis qualiter quilibet exorcizator ad tanti celsitudinis culmen accedere valeat »; incipit, « Notum sit omnibus exorcizantibus ... »; f. 28^r, « Sequitur de candariis »; f. 30^{r-v} is blank.

Paris Nat. Lat. 7349, 15th century, item 8: Annuli Salomonis, not seen.

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1196, 13th-14th century, parchment, very crowded writing of more than 60 lines per page: f. 1^v-2^r, « In nomine pii et misericordis incipit liber Fortunati Eleazarii Torquati qui philosophorum peritissimi et sapientissimi Salomonis discipuli cuius vestigia secuti rerum subtilitates et nature diversitates ... »; « Incipit de quatuor anulorum Salomonis compositione .../... Finit tractatus de 4 anulis Salomonis ». An anonymous work follows, opening, « Hic sunt nomina angelorum ligationum et provocationum in principio ymaginum lune ... ». At f. 2^v are images numbered from 4 to 12 with many strange names, then « Dixit Hermes ... »; « Dixit Thebeyith ... »; « Dixit Belenus ... ». At f. 3^r, « Dixit Hermes ... »; « Caput istud est de

51. *Vat. Lat. 4275* has the figure 8 instead of 4.

52. *Boston Medical 22*, f. 3^v, « De arte tereotica et andaya ... »; *Digby 228*, f. 78^{ra}, « De arte antonia et ydayca ... »; *Vat. Lat. 4275*, « De arte euconica et ideatica ... »; *ydayca* in *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1445*; *eudemita hydaica* in *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*.

libro lune ... »; « Dixit Theor grecus ... » etc. At f. 3^v « Dixit Theor grecus ... »; « Dixit Belenus ... »; « Dixit Apollo ... » etc.

For other Ms of the 17th century see my II, p. 280, n. 5.

In the 1407 A. D. inventory of the library of Francesco Gonzaga: « Item Entonta Salamonis cum quibusdam aliis libellis sine titulo, Incipit liber Fortunati Eliazar .../... si quem vias ducas ad istas ». 63 cartae⁵³.

b) *De novem candariis*

I cannot say whether the two following manuscripts have the incipit cited by Albert, « Locus admonet ut dicamus ... ».

Florence Nat. II. iii. 214, 15th century, f. 28^r, « Sequitur de candariis ».

London Brit. Mus. Sloane 3850, 17th century, f. 68-75, « Salomonis opus de novem candariis celestibus ».

c) *De tribus figuris*

The incipit, « Sicut⁵⁴ de celestibus ... » which Albert gives for Salomon, *De tribus figuris*⁵⁵, was assigned by Pastrengo to Caudas astrologus, *Liber de tribus figuris spirituum*.

d) *De figura Almandal*

Albert next listed Salomon, *De figura*⁵⁶ *Almandal*, with the incipit, « Caput in figura Almandal ... » which in Thadeus of Parma becomes, « Capitulum⁵⁷ in figura Almandel ... ». In the only copy of the work itself which I have seen it opens differently:

Florence Nat. II. iii. 214, 15th century, f. 74^r-77^r: rubric, « Liber in figura Almandel et eius opere ... et eius iudicio »;

53. P. GIROLA, *La biblioteca di Francesco Gonzaga secondo l'inventario del 1407*, Reale Accademia Virgiliana de Mantova, r. Deputazione di storia patria per l'antico ducato, *Atti e Memorie*, new series, 14 (1921) p. 30-72, p. 68.

54. *Sunt* in Steinschneider (1871), p. 386, and *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1445*, f. 182^r; *sit* in *Boston Medical 22*, f. 3^v. *Digby 228* omits both work and incipit.

55. *Boston Medical 22* gives the title as « Liber de 3 figuris spirituum »; Steinschneider enlarges it to, « De tribus figuris spirituum qui dicuntur principes in quatuor plagis mundi ... ».

56. Not *figuris*, as in Steinschneider.

57. *Digby 228* and *Vat. Lat. 4275* have *Capitulum* rather than *Caput*.

incipit, «In nomine domini pii et misericordis. Cum volueris facere Almandel, sculpes eum in lamina eris rubei cum nominibus suis. In medio quoque lamina erunt foramina hoc modo per que suffumigationes suppositorum aromatum possint exalare...». Many further directions are given with figures to illustrate. Rubrics occur on the text as follows: f. 75^r, «De provocatione, De amore inter duos, De discordia inter duos»; f. 75^v, «De ligatione, De mittendo egritudine, De discordia, De inmittenda egritudine, De retrogradatione»; f. 76^r, «De curatione demonii, De curatione morborum, de curatione mali sopnii». Then come four long exorcisms full of strange names. At f. 77^{r-v}, «Alius liber de Almandal qui dicitur tabula vel ara Salomonis», which is similar to its predecessor.

Wolfenbüttel 3491, 15th century, 35 f. «Salomonis verissimus et sanctissimus Almandel auctore Apollonio», with cabalistic figures on the last four leaves. I have not examined.

Works in which Almadel appears as the author rather than title, such as *Vienna 3400*, 15th century, f. 192^r-202^r, Almadel, *Liber intelligentiarum*, «Rerum opifex deus virtutes creaturarum .../... neglexeris totiens repetas»; or *Florence Laur. Plut. 89 sup. 34*, 15th-16th century, f. 1^r-9^v, opening, «Cum ut legitur Peripateticorum in libris⁵⁸ ...» have nothing to do with either Solomon, engraved images, or the titles listed in the *Speculum astronomiae*.

e) *De sigillis ad demoniacos*

Albert's fifth and final citation of a work on images ascribed to Solomon is *De sigillis ad demoniacos*. Its incipit in Borgnet's «Caput sigilli Gendal et Tanchil ...»; in Steinschneider, «Capit. sigilli gandil et tarchil (tanchil)...»; in Thadeus of Parma, Pastrengo and *Digby 228*, «Capitulum sigilli Gendal (Gaudach) et Tanchil ...»⁵⁹. Pastrengo attributed it, too, to Caudas the astrologer rather than to Solomon.

58. See *Speculum* 2 (1927) p. 326-331.

59. *Boston Medical 22*, «Capitulum sigilli guadal et chanchil ...»; *Vat. Lat. 4275*, «Capitulum sigilli Gendal et Canchil ...»; *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*, «Capitulum de sigillis Gendal et Canchil ...»; *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1445*, «Gandal et Tanchil».

15. MAHOMET

From Solomon Albert turned to Mahomet, to whom was attributed a *Liber septem nominum* opening, «Dixit Mahomet nuntius Alahasedonne ...»⁶⁰ and a *Liber quindecim nominum*, opening, «Hec sunt nomina secreta⁶¹...». What at least purports to be these two works is found in the following manuscript:

Florence Nat. II. iii. 214, 15th century, f. 38^r: «Dixit Muhamet filius Alhascen et filius Amoemen. Et dixit Abubeluer Hamet filius Habrac. Et dixit Abubecher filius Mugehic. Et dixit Abulacha Abdiramen filius Abduc. Et dixit Abubeluer Mauhmet filius Bosit, quod hec sunt nomina dei vii secreta secundum numerum vii dierum ...» At f. 41^r fifteen names are taken up, but I failed to note the opening words when I examined the manuscript. At f. 42^v, «Anulus lune», and other rings, then more names, but no new title is distinguishable until f. 43^v, «Liber de secretis angelorum. Incipit liber quem deus misit per angelum suum Rachaelem Adae post eius expulsionem a paradiso ...».

16. RAZIEL

The incipit of Raziel, *Liber institutionis*⁶², omitted by Borgnet, as given by Albert, is: «In prima huius proemii⁶³ parte de annulis⁶⁴ tractemus⁶⁵...» Pastrengo repeated this incipit, although he or his editor misspelled the name of Raziel as Tazael. It is difficult to say whether this *Liber institutionis* should be iden-

60. STEINSCHNEIDER (1871), p. 375, gives the incipit as, «Dixit Mahumet filius Alhozen (or, nuntius Alahasedonem)...»; *Vat. Lat. 4275* has «nuntius Alaspan»; *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*, «nuntius Albaroth»; *Digby 228*, «Dixit Mahomet nuntius Alhassoen...».

61. *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1445*, f. 182^r, contracts the two works and incipits into one: «liber 7 nominum qui incipit, Hec sunt 15 nomina ...». Steinschneider also inserts «15» before nomina in the incipit.

Earlier in the chapter according to Borgnet's text (X, 641a) Albert had described both sets of names as from a *Liber Uraharum*: «Amplius septem nomina ex libro Uraharum. Amplius quindecim ex eodem». But all five Ms that I have used instead of *Uraharum* have *Mahomet* or something obviously meant for it: *Mahumeth*, *Muliameth*, *mi hameth*, *Machmuth*.

62. The Ms give this form rather than Borgnet's *institutionum*.

63. *Boston Medical 22*, *libri*.

64. *Vat. Lat. 4275* and *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*, *angulis*. Steinschneider added *characteribus* which is omitted by the Ms which I have used.

65. *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*, *vertemus* (?).

tified, either in whole or part, with a *Liber secretorum* or *De virtutibus et secretis* which we find attributed to or connected with Raziel in the following manuscripts, which, however, have different incipits:

Vat. Reg. Lat. 1300, 15th-16th century, f. 1-202^v: « Prout dicit Salomon in libro Sapientie, Omnis sapientia et omnis scientia .../... Et hic finitur liber qui dicitur Raziel et vocatur liber de virtutibus et secretis. Insunt septem libri de septem scientiis et septem potestatibus. Deo gratias. Amen ». In the preface Alfonso the Wise of Castile is praised for his love of philosophy and science and for ordering *Zeffer Raziel* to be translated together with its supplements, which are named at the close of the table of contents. Master Iohannes clericus says that the king engaged him to translate these supplements from Latin into Castilian. In the text Solomon and Hermes are much cited. I hope to describe the work from this manuscript more fully elsewhere. Possibly its seventh and last book on the virtues of images with 26 chapters on astrological images (f. 139^v-302^v) is what Albert had in mind. See my II, p. 281, note 2.

Munich Clm 51, 1484 A. D., f. 111^{ra}-123^{va}, contains the sixth book of the preceding manuscript: « Incipit prologus super tractatum sextum qui dicitur Samayn. Adam exulatus expulsus de paradiso ... ». But its « Tractatus septimus et ultimus qui dicitur liber virtutum », at f. 120^{va}-123^{va}, is much briefer than the seventh book in the Vatican Ms and seems more concerned with names than with astrological images.

Florence Laur. Plut. 44 cod. 33, 1550 A. D., 80 f., opens mutilated towards the close of the prologue to the sixth book. Its incipit for the first chapter of that book, as given by Bandini, « Nomen primi celi vocatur Samayn ... » corresponds to « In primo celo quod Samayn dicitur ... » of *Munich Clm 51*, f. 111^v.

17. DE CAPITE SATURNI

Immediately after listing the « liber magnus » of Raziel, Albert mentioned another treatise *De capite Saturni* of which he did not know the author. This passage is entirely omitted by Borgnet and not noted by Steinschneider. The wording of the incipit varies in different manuscripts of the *Speculum astronomiae*: *Digby 228*, « Quicumque hoc scriptum secretissimum... »;

Vat. Lat. 4275, « Quicumque hoc sacratissimum ... »; *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340*, « Quicumque sanctissimam ... »; *Boston Medical 22*, « Quicumque hoc sanctissimum ... ».

18. ARISTOTLE, MORS ANIMAE

Worst⁶⁶ of all the books on images according to Albert, was one ascribed to Aristotle which opened, « Dixit Aristoteles Alexandro regi⁶⁷, Si vis percipere⁶⁸... » which some call *Mors animae*. This work was unknown to Steinschneider and I have encountered no manuscript of it. Besides the allusions to it of Roger Bacon and Peter of Abano (see my II, p. 258) we may note its citation by Thadeus of Parma (*Florence Laur. Ashburnham 131* (205-137), 14th century, f. 3^{va-b}) and that, in an anonymous account of the seven liberal arts (*Berne Stadtbibl. 260*, 13th-15th century, f. 227^{vb}), nigromancy is excluded and the titulus of a work on nigromancy given as « Incipit mors anime et desperatio vite ». In a bibliography composed about 1300 A. D. (*Paris Nat. Lat. 16089*, f. 270^{rb}) on alchemy, geometry, perspective, astronomy, astrology and nigromancy, all nineteen titles under the last topic are drawn from the eleventh chapter of the *Speculum astronomiae*, but *Mors animae* now heads the list instead of coming last⁶⁹.

We may note one or two other works on images ascribed to Aristotle. Steinschneider (1871), 383, noted the following from an edition of Venice, 1509, f. 13: « Sententia Aristotelis de luna 14 continens capitula de imaginibus fabricandis pro diversis rebus. Aristoteles plenior artibus dixit: Selene videtur clare habere astra 28 per quas terras graditur... » (cf. *Copenhagen Gl. kgl. S 3499* under Section 7).

Vat. Reg. Lat. 1283, 14th-15th century, f. membrane, f. 25^r-30, contains a tract on images of the twelve signs ascribed to Aristotle and written in Spanish. It includes many figures and also names of angels.

66. *Vat. Lat. 4275* and *Vat. Palat. Lat. 1340* have *peritissimus* instead of *perissimus*.

67. *Boston Medical 22* omits this clause; *Digby 228* omits *regi*; *Vat. Lat. 4275* reads, « Dixit Alexandro regi Aristoteles ».

68. STEINSCHNEIDER, *recipere*.

69. LYNN THORNDIKE, *A Bibliography composed around 1300 A. D.*, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 55 (1938) p. 357-360.

19. PTOLEMY ON IMAGES

a) Of the two works on engraved images which Albert regarded as unobjectionable that by Thebit has already been treated. It remains to speak of that which Albert says opens, « Opus ymaginum Ptolomei... », an incipit which Pastrengo reduces to « Imaginum... ». Other variant forms of the incipit will be found in the following manuscripts. A common form of title is « De imaginibus », or more fully, « De imaginibus super facies signorum ». The work often immediately follows that of Thebit in the manuscripts. Sometimes the tract on nine varieties of comets then ascribed to Ptolemy⁷⁰ also accompanies it.

A *facies* is the third part of a sign of the zodiac, either its beginning, middle or end, and covers ten degrees. Our work opens under the sign Aries with an image to bar thieves from a house another to keep cows with calf, and a third to prevent a building from burning. In some cases more than one image per *facies* is given, but under the sign Leo only one *facies* is treated. In the Paris Ms there are eight images under Aries, five under Taurus, two for Gemini, six for Cancer, one for Leo, three for Virgo, five under Libra, two for Scorpio, one for Sagittarius, two for Capricornus, five for Aquarius, while Pisces is omitted entirely. In the first mentioned Laurentian manuscript, on the contrary, the last image, to make another person follow and obey you, comes under Pisces, while there is but one image under Scorpio. However, the head, back and tail of the scorpion are to be carved under the first, second and third *facies* respectively of that sign.

Copenhagen Gl. Kgl. S. 3499, 15th century, f. 96^r: rubric:

« Incipit liber Ptholomei de ymaginibus super facies signorum » incipit, « Opus Ptholomei ymaginum et est omnibus modis verior proprior et valentior in probatione, quoniam eius effectus constitutus est super facies duodecim signorum. Dixit Alburabeth ben Felim quia omnes orientales operabantur per has ymagines et operantur. Et non curant de aliis sed observant ut sit luna in horoscopo, id est, ascendente dum operantur. Perficitur et tunc opus eorum et premunitur a defectu voluntatis sue ... ».

70. Printed by L. BAUR, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste*, (Beitr. Gesch. Philos. Mittelalters 9) 1912, p. 36-39.

Florence Laur. Plut. 30, 29, 13th century, f. 60-62:

Opus Ptolemei et est omnibus modis proprior et valentior in probatione, cum eius effectus constitutus secundum facies signorum. Iam dixit Alburabeth ben Felim quia omnes orientales operabantur per has ymagines et non curant de aliis ... Comendatio operis. Dixit Ptholomeus, Edidi hunc librum de ymaginibus secundum facies signorum. Qui ergo voluerit operari ex eis, precideat ut operetur id cum fuerit luna in ascendente facie ex signo, et aspiciant eam (?) fortune. Mali vero sint cadentes ab eo sintque planete iuncti fortunis. Cumque hoc fecerit, perveniet ad quod voluerit et imperabit a deo quod animus suus desiderat. Explicit liber Ptholomei de ymaginibus secundum facies signorum. Incipit Ptholomeus de cometis.

Florence Laur. Plut. 89 sup. 38, late 15th century, quarto minori, f. 19^r-27^r (9^r-17^r): rubric, « Preclarissimi domini Ptholomei tractatus de imaginationibus (*sic*) feliciter incipit »; incipit, « Dixit Albuzaben (Albuhazen?) quia omnes originales (*sic*) operabantur per has... » The work closes with an « Expositio totius libri » which is similar in wording to the « Comendatio operis » of the preceding Ms.

Florence Nat. II. iii. 214, 15th century, f. 4^v-8^r: « Opus ymaginum secundum consilium Ptholomei... » offers essentially the same text as *Laur. Plut. 30, 29*.

Ghent 5 (151-Saint-Genois 416), 1479 A. D., f. 22-24: « Opus de ymaginibus Ptholomei super facies signorum ».

London Brit. Mus. Harley 80, f. 76^r-77^r: « Opus Omagarum secundum Claudium Ptolomeum ».

London Brit. Mus. Sloane 3883, 17th century, f. 93^v: « Instructio Ptolomei », similar to the above « Comendatio operis ».

Oxford Bodl. Ashmole 346, 15th century, f. 118^r-119^r:

Opus ymaginum secundum consilium Ptholomei est omnibus modis veracius in probatione, quoniam eius effectus constitutus est super facies signorum et est certissimum quod Albumasar et Arabici et omnes orientales operabantur cum eo et non curant de aliis... /... Dixit Ptholomeus, Edidi hunc librum de ymaginibus super signorum. Qui ergo voluerit operari, provideat quod luna sit in ascendente faciei illius signi, et aspiciant eam fortune; mali vero sint cadentes ab ea, et finitur. Expliciunt ymagines astronomice Ptolomei.

About a third of the images which are usually given are here omitted. The name, Alchahir, is used for Taurus, and the order of the signs is not completely observed, since after the first *facies* of Aquarius we go back to images in the second *facies* of Aries and of Cancer.

Oxford Bodl. Bodley 463, 14th century, f. 77^v: « Instructio Ptholomei. Dixit Ptholomeus, Edidi hunc librum.../... animus tuus desiderat ».

Oxford Bodl. Digby 37, 14th century, membrane, f. 43-45^v: incipit, « Liber ymaginum Tholomei omnibus modis prior et veracior per quem omnes orientales operantur et non curant de aliis ... »; « Cum volueris ligare latronem... » given in Macray's catalogue as the incipit, are the opening words of the first image; desinit (not in Macray), « Dixit Tholomeus, Edidi hunc librum... et impetrabis ex eo quod animus tuus desiderat ».

Oxford Bodl. Digby 57, 14th-15th century, membrane, f. 176^v-178: « Incipit ymagines Tholomei. Opus ymaginum secundum consilium Tholomei est omnibus modis veracior... ». A brief form of the *Commendatio* or *Espositio* ends: « ...mali vero sint cadentes ab eadem. Explicit ». I have not seen this Ms but follow Macray's description of it.

Paris Nat. Lat. 7337, 15th century, paper, p. 41^b-45^a: « Opusculum Ptholomei et est omnibus modis prior et veracior in propria actione constitutus super signorum facies secundum quod dixit Ptholomeus qui edidit hunc librum... ».

Vat. Lat. 4085, 14th century, membrane, 95^r-97^r: opens like the Paris Ms but after a few lines continues, « Dixit Hermes huius rei primus inventor, Lustravi plures imagines... ». But the images which follow are listed under the signs, not by planets as with the images of Hermes.

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1354, 15th century, f. 58^v-59^v: « Liber de imaginibus. Dixit Ptolomeus, Edidi hunc librum de imaginibus super facies signorum... ».

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1401, 15th century, f. 108^v: « Dixit Ptolomeus, Edidi hunc librum de imaginibus super facies signorum... ».

Vienna 2378, circa 1400, f. 44^r-46^v: rubric, « Incipit liber Ptolomei de ymaginibus super facies signorum »; incipit, « Opus ymaginum Ptolomei et est omnibus modis verior et valentior in probatione.../... et impetrabis ea que animus tuus desiderat. Explicit liber Ptolomei super facies signorum ».

Two other forms of incipit are suggested by Steinschneider⁷¹ « Pars (Opus ?) imaginum est multiplex... » and « Incipiamus tractare de compositione... ».

b) In two of the foregoing manuscripts the Images of Ptolemy are followed by a « Doctrine of images according to moderns, » with a paragraph on each sign of the zodiac, then by medicinal images of the twelve signs, next by images of the seven planets, and finally by images of the constellations which lie outside the zodiac.

Vat. Lat. 4085, 14th century, f. 97^r, « Doctrina imaginum secundum modernos duodecim vultuum coelestium »: f. 98^v, « Duodecim signorum imagines medicinales »; f. 99^r, « De imaginibus septem planetarum »; f. 99^v, « Figure planetarum »; f. 100^r, « De imaginibus constellationum extra zodiacum »; ⁷² followed at f. 101^r by Thebit on images.

Paris Nat. lat. 7337, 15th century, preceded at p. 47^v by « Figure sive imagines triplicitatum signorum. Ignee. Note quod Aries Leo et Sagittarius sculpti in lapidibus propter igneam et orientalem triplicitatem eorum valeant contra infirmitates frigidas sicut... ». These images of *triplicitates* are finished before the bottom of the column, but the text continues with an image of Scorpio and others of the fixed stars to p. 50^b where the « Doctrina imaginum secundum modernos duodecim vultuum coelestium » begins, « Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui. Domine, dedisti letitiam in corde meo, quia lumina coeli tui illuminantia res naturales... » and ends on p. 53^a, « ...in die claro et non turbato ». A marginal note on p. 50^b reads, « Concordat tractatus iste cum tractatu Picatricis quem ab Hermete accepit ». On p. 53 are the medicinal images of the twelve signs, and those of the seven planets begin, followed at p. 55 by the images for the constellations beyond the zodiac.

c) A peculiar kind of images of the seven planets are set forth in certain chapters which are said to come from the *Secret of Secrets* of Ptolemy, but may be taken from some version of the

71. *Die europäischen Uebersetzungen*, in *Vienna, Sitzungsberichte* 151 (1906) p. 45.

72. W. GUNDEL has published extracts from these four texts from this Ms at p. 238-246 of his *Religionsgeschichtliche Lese Früchte aus lateinischen Astrologenhandschriften*, in *Mélanges Franz Cumont, Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, Brussels, IV, 1936, p. 225-252.

pseudo-Aristotelian work of that title. They consist of magical squares: 3 by 3, with numbers from one to nine, for Saturn: 4 by 4 for Jupiter: 5 by 5 for Mars: 6 by 6 for the sun: 7 by 7 for Venus: 8 by 8 for Mercury: and 9 by 9, with numbers from one to 81, in the case of the moon. The first image is to be written in Saturn's day and hour on a piece of new cotton cloth and bound on a woman's right rib to aid her in childbirth. A plate of pure silver is used for Jupiter, Venus and Mercury; copper for Mars; gold for the sun; and paper or lead for the moon. Suf-fumigations and other ceremonial are employed. In one case the metal plate is washed in water, which is then drunk as a philtre.

Oxford Corpus Christi College 125, f. 76^r-77^v: « Incipiunt figure septem planetarum et scias quod in istis 7 figuris occultaverunt antiqui sapientes et philosophi 7 nomina gloriosa dei.../... extra villam et fiet quod vis. Explicit tractatus de septem figuris septem planetarum ». Here the tract is anonymous.

Vat. Ottob. Lat. 1809, 14th century, f. 21^r-25^v: « Incipiunt quedam capitula de secretis secretorum Ptolomei, scilicet de figuris et ymaginibus septem planetarum et de utilitatibus eorum. Prima figura Saturni. Figura Saturni quadrata est et sunt tria multiplicata per tria... » At f. 28f, « Incipit tractatus de pluribus annulis fiendis et utilibus ad plura diversa. Anulus ad discendum cito quamlibet scientiam... » (a ring of pure gold is made on the day and hour of Mercury); f. 28^v, « Anulus optimus ad habendam bonam fortunam et prosperitatem »; f. 29^r, « Experimentum optimum de dyamate » (to be purchased on the day and hour of Mars).

d) Yet another ascription to Ptolemy which differs from the work on images according to the *facies* of the signs is a treatise on sanctified stones.

Oxford Bodl. Ashmole 1471, late 14th century, f. 64^v-65^v: titulus, « Incipit liber Ptholomei de lapidibus pretiosis et sigillis eorum »; incipit, « Regi Ptholomeo rex Acatengi de lapidibus sanctificatis scripsit et in templo Appollonis scripsit et apposuit, cuius fundamenta in Egipto insubversa manent, cuius libri quando undique dispersi sunt eorum virtutes et agnitio demonstrat... »; desinit, « ...contra inimicos victor erit et si quis visiones viderit, interpretari valebit. Explicit liber Ptholomei ».

Vienna 5311, 14th-15th century, f. 35^{rb-vb}: titulus, « Incipit

liber Ptolomei de lapidibus pretiosis et sigillis eorum » (in the catalogue, « Epistola de lapidibus pretiosis eorumque sigillis »); incipit, « Regi Ptolomeo rex Azareus de lapidibus sanctificatis scripsit et in templo Apollonis scripsit et composuit, cuius fundamenta subversa in Egipto manent, cuius libri undique dispersi sunt. Lapis in cuius superficie equum alacrem inveneris sculptum... »; desinit, « ...victor erit et si quis visiones viderit, interpretatio valebit. Explicit libellus de sculpturis et virtutibus lapidum ».

In this treatise marvelous virtues are attributed to gems found (as in the following work by Thetel) with images already carved on them. Although connected with Ptolemy and including representations of Andromeda, Cassiopeia, Saturn, Jupiter and Mercury, it is not clear that they are astrological, since they also include various engravings of men and animals, and since no observance of astronomical conditions is mentioned. Once or twice no carving is indicated and only the color of the stone is given.

20. THETEL ON SEALS

In both the foregoing manuscripts there follows the work of Thetel or Techel on seals, in the Vienna codex after an intervening passage beginning, « Omnis creatura in peccato... »⁷³ which seems drawn from Thomas of Cantimpré and deals with the consecration of gems. The text in *Ashmole 1471* has been described in my II, 399-400, and nine more manuscripts listed. Yet others are:

Erfurt Ampl. Q. 295, 13th century, f. 37^v-41^r: « In nomine domini hic est liber pretiosus magnus et sacratus sigillorum celestium quem de Egipto secundum motus et cursus siderum quia multi ad similitudinem huius facti sunt... ». This tract, not noted in Schum's *Verzeichniss*, sounds like the version in *Digby 79* (see my II, p. 400). Its first image is of a man seated on a plough; that of a man with a shield about his neck occurs later. The closing passage is on the consecration of gems.

Klagenfurt Studienbibl. 167, 15th century, f. 163^r-164^r: « Se-

73. Similarly in *Oxford, Bodl. Canon. Misc. 285*, 15th century, quarto minori, f. 40-49, the work of Thetel is preceded by a text on the consecration of gems which opens at f. 36^v, « Omnis creatura in principali natura qua condita fuit... ».

quitur libellus cuiusdam physici Judaeorum Techel qui scribit ipsum librum de sculpturis et dicit hunc esse editum a filiis Israel... ».

London Brit. Mus. Sloane 1784, 14th century, membrane. f. 5^v: « Ego Thetel unus ex filiis filiorum Israel qui post transitum maris rubei... ».

London Brit. Mus. Sloane 3663, 17th century. f. 3^r-4^v: « Chael unus ex filiis filiorum Israel antiquissimus doctor cum in deserto esset observavit et sculperet fecit multas secundum cursum signorum et planetarum figuras et... librum composuit ex quo sequentia sunt excerpta... »; f. 6^v, « Tractatus iv Thetelis », following « Tractatus III, Sigilla seu imagines Hermetis », and preceding « Tractatus V Salomonis ».

Melk 109, 13th-14th century, f. 89^v-91^v: libellus Techel philosophi Judaici de sculpturis lapidum insertus est (presumably in the work of Thomas of Cantimpré).

21. ABEL ON IMAGES

We spoke above of a *Liber lune* ascribed to Abel which differed from that attributed to Hermes. Yet another work on images is assigned to Abel in another manuscript, and Albertus Magnus is there said to have called it *De essentiis essentialium*. But Albert mentions no such title or author in the chapter on images of the *Speculum astronomiae*. *De essentiis essentialium*, sometimes wrongly ascribed to Thomas Aquinas, is a quite different work⁷⁴. But its author, who calls himself a Dominican and chaplain to Robert of Anjou before he became king of Naples in 1309, and who cites Roger Bacon several times, in the fourth tractate of the work on the celestial bodies expresses full faith in the astrological images of Abel and in intelligences moving the planets⁷⁵. As for this second work attributed to Abel, its incipit shows it to be the same kind of work as that ascribed to Ptolemy on images according to the *facies* of the signs. Perhaps it is even a part of it.

Vat. Palat. Lat. 1116, 14th-15th century, paper, f. 127^{r-v}: titulus, « Tractatus Abel de ymaginibus et hunc librum Albertus

74. See my III, p. 136-139, p. 684-686.

75. See a Ms of it not listed in my third volume: *London Brit. Mus. Sloane 2156*, 15th century, f. 130^v-148^r.

Magnus vocat... librum de essentiis essentialium et dicit se esse expertum in eo »; incipit, « De ymaginibus secunda facie Cancris existente in horoscopo fiant... »; desinit, « ...in quo id esse volueris habuerit (?) sigillum et alia non reperys etc ». At f. 114^{ra-b}: rubric, « Alique ymagine constellationales, Ymago ad destruendum civitatem »; incipit, « Fiat ymago sub hora 17 (or, et) sub ipsius ascendente civitatis... ».

This last item is perhaps less a distinct treatise on astrological images than a random gathering of a few particular images. These are scattered through the manuscripts much as alchemical recipes are⁷⁶, but no attempt has been made to round them up here.

22. SOME OTHER WORKS ON ENGRAVED IMAGES

In the following manuscripts Ptolemy on images is preceded and followed by two anonymous books of images. The former has twenty-seven images, beginning with the first *facies* of Aries, as the pseudo-Ptolemy did, but also perhaps having reference to the mansions of the moon. The first image is to promote discord, others to get service, favor, love, learn secrets or marvels, cause sickness, etc. The names of angels of the signs and planets are listed. The other treatise is on images according to the mansions of the moon.

Florence Laur. Plut. 89 sup. 38, late 15th century, f. 13^v-18^v (3^v-8^v): rubric, « Incipit tractatus de ymaginibus »; incipit, « Si discordare quempiam velis, diriga ymaginem hora mortis luna in Scorpione ascendente prima facie Arietis, et de plumbo facias sub nomine illorum quibus opereris... ». At f. 28^r-35^r (18^r-25^r): titulus, « De generationibus, proportionibus et compositionibus celi ad faciendum ymagine »; incipit, « Quando vero sapientes antiqui voluerunt facere ymagine, non potuerunt refutare constellationes que sunt radices in scientia ymaginum et sunt quibus patefiunt suos effectus. Nos autem dicere intendimus istarum constellationum radices... »; f. 28^v, « Ad presens dicere intendo effectus et opera lune inter 28 suarum mansionum

76. One is ascribed to Albertus Magnus in two Ms, « Secretum de sigillo leonis. Ego Albertus commentator in omni experientia expertus ... et contra vitium calculi » *Prague 1832*, 15th century, f. 15^v; *Vienna 5315*, 15th century, f. 75^v-76^r.

secundum quod concordati sunt omnes sapientes Indi in 28 mansionibus lune... »; the 28th mansion is finished at the bottom of f. 34^r; f. 34^v, « Cum autem facere volueris opus tuum in die, disponatur ut luna sit in ascendente et ascendens sit ex signis diversis. Et si fuerit de nocte, ascendens sit signum nocturnum ... »; f. 35^r, « Capitulum de indigentibus ad faciendas ymagines. Cum ymaginem facerem volueris ad amorem inter duos... ». The text seems to break off uncompleted, as f. 35^v is blank, part of f. 36 is torn out, and f. 37^{r-v} is blank.

Our next text ends with the twelfth mansion of the moon and so may be incomplete. Besides astrological images it contains purely medical remedies such as theriac. There are some characters in its margins. Its opening works are somewhat similar to the injunction of Hermes in *Liber lune* (Section 7).

Prague 1832, 15th century, paper, f. 13^{ra}-14^{ra}: « Ego autem rogo altissimum creatorem quod iste noster liber non nisi ad manus perveniat sapientis.../... quod aredofer (?) est nomen domini istius mansionis ».

A treatise on engraved gems, which opens. « In quocunque lapide... » and is ascribed to Marbod in only one manuscript⁷⁷, seems to be more or less identical with the images for *triplicitates*, planets and extra-zodiacal constellations which we noticed above in connection with the Images of Ptolemy (Section 19).

Prague 629, 15th century, paper, f. 22^{vb}-25^{va} (?): rubric, « Incipit tractatus de sculptura lapidis »; incipit, « In quocunque lapide inveneris Arietem Leonem vel Sagittarium insculptum, tales ignei sunt et orientales. Faciunt se ferentes gratos deo et hominibus et liberant eos a febribus cotidianis... ». It is difficult to distinguish an explicit. At f. 24^v the serpent between the two bears is the last constellation considered, and we turn to the beryl, emerald and sapphire. At f. 25^{rb} such images as a man with a dog's head are treated; at f. 25^{ra} comes an image of Mars armed and Diana, then the influences of the other planets, presumably as carved on stones. This section ends, « ... maior est naclerum esse ». Then with the rubric, « De fortitudine et debilitate et aspectibus », comes astrological matter which seems to have no connection with images.

77. THORNDIKE and KIBRE, *A Catalogue of Incipits*, 1937, col. 338, should be corrected on this point.

Berne 410, 14th century, paper, f. 72^r-74^v: « In quocunque lapide invenimus insculptum Arietem Leonem vel Sagittarium, lapis ille orientalis est... ». In Hagen's catalogue this is incorrectly described as a moral treatise on the nature of certain gems, probably because it is preceded by a « Garland of Moral Flowers » (*Sertum florum moralium*) gathered by brother Symon de Valle Virenti in 1346, and followed by Walter Burley, *De vita et moribus philosophorum*.

Oxford Bodl. Digby 193, 14th century, membrane, f. 28: rubric, « Liber Marbodi de sculpturis gemmarum »; incipit, « In quocunque lapide inveneris Arietem... »; explicit, « ...Lapis bufonis obstat venenis secundum dictum omnium philosophorum peritissimorum ». It is followed at f. 30 by Thetel on images.

The remaining two manuscripts appear to contain portions of the same text:

Vienna 2442, 13th century, f. 4^v-5^v: « In quocunque lapide sculptum invenies Geminos.../... sanctificatio consistit, qui vivit etc ».

Vienna 5442, 15th century, f. 132^v: « In quocunque lapide sculptum.../...omni reverentia et munditia ».

Other anonymous texts on astrological images are:

Bologna Univ. 135 (101), 14th century, f. 23^r-24^r: titulus, « De virtute sigilli sculpti in lapide pretioso »; incipit, « Si inveneris in iaspide »; desinit, « ...postea resolve cum eadem fece ».

Cambridge Univ. Dd. XI. 45, 15th century, f. 134^v-139: « Liber de angelis annulis karacteribus et ymaginibus planetarum ».

Erfurt Ampl. Q. 368, 14th century, f. 81^v-83: *Tractatus de sculpturis gemmarum*: « Si inveneris gemmam vel lapidem in quo sit sigillum Saturni.../...simili modo debet mundari. Finis. ».

Florence Laur. Plut. 89 sup. 38, late 15th century, f. 243: « De Saturno dicendum est cum volueris aliquem abominabilem facere... ».

Klagenfurt Bischöfl. Bibl. XXXI. b. 14, 14th century, paper, f. 161^{rb}-164^{vb}: « De Iove quem Romani depingebant cum tribus alis .../... quia luxuria regnat in tenebris ».

London Brit. Mus. Sloane 3438, 14th-15th century, about f. 61: « De sigillis planetarum ».

Paris Nat. Lat. 7337, p. 121: *De sculpturis lapidum per obser-*

vationem astronomicum, opening, « Quod notat in vita philosophorum largitio contulit... ». This incipit, which does not sound suitable, was transcribed from Hauréau's *Initia* (in *Paris Nat. nouv. acq.* 2392) by Dr. Pearl Kibre for *A Catalogue of Incipits*, col. 583. Although I has previously used Ms 7337 more than once, it had not caught my eye.

Vat. Reg. lat. 1283, 14th-15th century, large folio, membrane. f. 1^r-8^v: a work on images in Spanish with one for each degree of a sign (f. 1^r-v, Aries; f. 2^r-v, Gemini) ending at f. 8^r-v. with Sagittarius. At f. 9^r-10^v, Virgo and Leo are treated, but the division into degrees seems no longer to be carried out. With f. 11^r the images become magical in character. Later, however, at f. 18^{rb}-24^v, are images associated with the mansions of the moon

Vienna 5239 and 5239*, 14th-15th century, f. 147^v-149^r: « De modo fabricandi figuras seu sigilla unicuique planete proprias et conformes »; « Incipiunt figure 7 planetarum... /... cito ac prospere vendes eos. »

23. TEXTS CONCERNED WITH CONSTELLATIONS RATHER THAN IMAGES.

The treatises or portions of a treatise⁷⁸ opening, « Omnes imagines numero 48 totum celum comprehendunt... » and, « Phi-

78. In the Vienna manuscript catalogue (*Tabulae codd. MSS. preter Graecos et orientales in bibliotheca palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, 1864-) in the case of Ms 2352, 14th century, f. 1-31, and Ms 2378, 14th century, f. 1-32, they are represented as parts of a single treatise, « De notitia ordinum stellarum fixarum coeli seu imaginum 48 quae a philosophis veraciter dinoscuntur », opening, « Philosophi quidam multis experimentis... » and closing, « ... ut patet in nocticorace ». But this explicit occurs at f. 14^r in Ms 2378.

In F. SAXL, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters*, vol. II, *Die HSS. der National-Bibliothek in Wien*, Heidelberg, 1927, in *Sitzungsber. Heidel. Akad. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Klasse*, Jahrgang 1925-26, 2 Abhandlung, however, the same sections of these Ms are divided into three tracts: the first, at f. 1^r-4^v and 1^r-2^v respectively, opening, « Philosophi quidam multis... » and closing, « ... ponemus planetas secundum quod nobis melius videbitur insignire »; the second, at f. 4^v-26^r and 3^r-11^r, opening, « Omnes imagines numero 48... » and closing, « ... et hec est forma sui aspectus in celo »; the third, at f. 26^r-31^v and 11^r-14^r, opening, « Luminaria firmamenti sunt multa... » and closing, « ... ut patet in nocticorace ». See also his description of Ms 3162, 15th century, f. 145^r-187^r-196^r, where the above first tract is assigned a different ending; the second tract, opening, « Omnes imagines numero 48 ... » is not distinguished, although the constellations

losophi quidam (or, quondam) multis experimentis noverunt⁷⁹ ... » have to do with the constellations⁸⁰ rather than with engraved operative images and so need not concern us here further. Yet it should be remarked that a work with the second of these incipits was among those in the library of Symon Phares which were condemned by the faculty of theology of Paris in their report to Parlement of February 19, 1494⁸¹.

are apparently given; while the third tract, opening, « Luminaria firmamenti... » is assigned the closing words of the second tract as given above. In 1927 I saw Ms 2352 and 2378, but not 3162.

The same text is divided into two parts by J. MARX, *Verzeichnis d. HSS-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues bei Bernkastel a. Mosel*, Trier, 1905, p. 194, in the case of Ms *Cues* 207, written between 1301 and 1334, f. 108-114^v, « Philosophy condam multis experimentis noverunt ... /... Hec est forma sui (sive) aspectus in celo »; f. 115^r-v, « Luminaria firmamenti sunt multa ... /... ut patet in nocticorace ».

In *Prague* 433 (III. C. 25), early 15th century, f. 155^{ra}-166^{vb}, opening, « Omnes ymagines in numero 28 (sic) ... » is Saxl's second tract without the first. There are pictures of the constellations but now, after each paragraph describing a constellation is another on the fate of those born under it. This serves to explain the different closing words, « ... ac plus et pauper quam dives, » and a similar explanation may be offered for the variant closing of *Vienna* 3162, « ... et in hoc prosperabitur et cum talibus multum dominabus et virginibus hoversabit. Sufficiunt dicta ». In this Prague Ms I could count neither 28 nor 48 ymagines, but only the twelve signs of the zodiac and 34 other constellations. Perhaps it omits the last two and so ends differently than *Vienna* 3162.

Almost immediately thereafter, in the same Prague MS, in the midst of what the catalogue (J. TRUHLAR, *Cat. cod. mss. lat. qui in C. R. Bibl. publica atque universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, Prague, 1905, I, 435) describes as « f. 167^r-169^v, Alkindus, De pluviis », occurs the incipit of Saxl's third tract or division, « Luminaria firmamenti sunt celi multa intra que septem... ». The cataloguer was misled by the rubric, « Alkindus de pluviis, » at f. 167^{ra}, whereas that tract, which has already occurred at f. 63^{ra}-vb, « Saturnus in Ariete sub radiis solis facit pluvias radiositates et nebulas ... /... Explicit Alkindus de pluviis, » does not start anew until f. 168^{vb}, closing at 169^{vb}, « Explicit Alkinus de pluviis etc. ». In THORNDIKE and KIBRE, *A Catalogue of Incipits*, 1937, col. 393, this foliation has been incorrectly applied to the « Luminaria firmamenti... » item, which rather runs from 167^r to 168^v.

In *Erfurt Ampl. F.* 394, early 14th century, f. 87-90: « Luminaria firmamenti sunt multa... » with the variant desinit, « ... versus occidentem circa medium ligamenti », according to SCHUM's *Verzeichniss*.

79. This form, found in *Cues* 207, seems preferable to Saxl's thrice repeated *noverint*.

80. And should have been so indexed in THORNDIKE and KIBRE, *A Catalogue of Incipits*, rather than under « Image, astrological ».

81. C. DU PLESSIS d'ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, 1755, I, ii, p. 326a: « Tertius intitulatur in rubro, Incipit liber de imaginibus coeli signisque planetarum etc. Incipit in nigro, Philosophi quondam multis experimentis noverunt. Hos tractatus damnandos judicavimus ».

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